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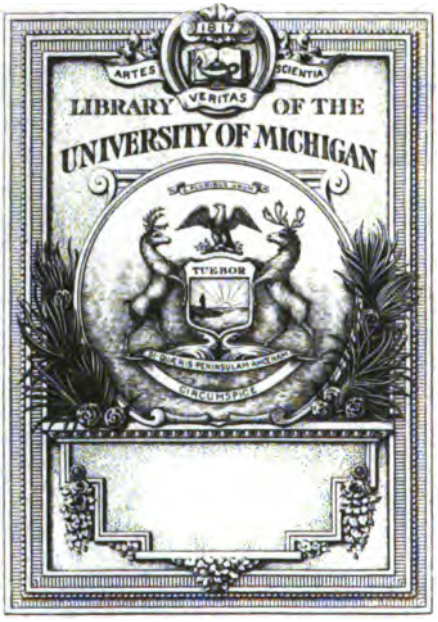

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Vol. IV, pp. 1650-1658

WATT DISCOVERING THE CONDENSATION OF STEAM

The World's Great Events

COMPLETE IN FIVE VOLUMES

An Indexed History of the World
from B. C. 4004 to A. D. 1908

BY
ESTHER SINGLETON
AUTHOR OF
"Turrets, Towers, and Temples," "Great Pictures," "Wonders of Nature," "Romantic Castles and Palaces," "Paris," "London," "Love in Literature and Art," "A Guide to the Opera," and "Story of the Universe"

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VOLUME IV

A. D. 1704—A. D. 1830

NEW YORK
P. F. COLLIER & SON

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CONTENTS

VOLUME FOUR

A.D. 1704—1832

THE BATTLE OF BLENHEIM (A.D. 1704). E. S. Creasy 1491
THE BATTLE OF PULTOWA (A.D. 1709). E. S. Creasy 1514
THE PEACE OF UTRECHT (A.D. 1713). François Pierre Guillaume Guizot 1527
THE FIRST JACOBITE REBELLION (A.D. 1715). Tobias Smollett . . 1541
THE SOUTH SEA BUBBLE (A.D. 1720). Charles Knight 1558
THE AUSTRO-RUSSIAN ATTACK ON TURKEY (A.D. 1737-1739). Thomas Carlyle 1572
THE RISE OF METHODISM AND THE NEW PHILANTHROPY (A.D. 1738) John Richard Green 1581
WAR OF THE AUSTRIAN SUCCESSION (A.D. 1740-1748). Sutherland Menzies 1591
THE CAPTURE OF CAPE BRETON (A.D. 1745). Tobias Smollett . . 1596
BRADDOCK'S DEFEAT (A.D. 1755). James Grant 1601
THE GREAT EARTHQUAKE AT LISBON (A.D. 1755). J. Chase . . 1609
THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR (A.D. 1756-1763). William Francis Collier 1617
THE CONQUESTS OF BENGAL AND CANADA (A.D. 1757-1764). John Richard Green 1624
PROSECUTION OF JOHN WILKES AND PASSING OF THE STAMP ACT (A.D. 1763-1766). John Richard Green 1636
COOK'S AUSTRALIAN DISCOVERIES (A.D. 1768-1771). Albert Hastings Markham 1644
THE INVENTION OF THE STEAM-ENGINE (A.D. 1768). Charles Knight 1650
PARTITION OF POLAND (A.D. 1770-1777). Charlotte M. Yonge . . 1659
DESTRUCTION OF TEA IN BOSTON HARBOR (A.D. 1773). Charles Knight 1668

CONTENTS

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE (A.D. 1776). James Schouler 1693
SURRENDER OF BURGOYNE AT SARATOGA (A.D. 1777). E. S. Creasy . 1700
THE SURRENDER OF CORNWALLIS AT YORKTOWN (A.D. 1781). Charles Knight 1718
THE RUSSIAN CONQUEST OF THE CRIMEA (A.D. 1787-1792). Alphonse de Lamartine 1727
THE BEGINNING OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION (A.D. 1789). William Francis Collier 1738
THE TAKING OF THE BASTILLE (A.D. 1789). Thomas Carlyle . . 1748
THE CONQUEST OF MYSORE (A.D. 1790-1799). Sir William Wilson Hunter 1760
THE BATTLE OF VALMY (A.D. 1792). E. S. Creasy 1767
THE REIGN OF TERROR (A.D. 1793-1794). Hippolyte Adolphe Taine 1782
THE DIRECTOIRE (A.D. 1795-1799). Sir Archibald Alison . . . 1797
THE DECLINE AND FALL OF VENICE (A.D. 1797). J. C. L. de Sismondi 1813
THE BATTLE OF THE NILE (A.D. 1798). Robert Southey 1825
THE SIEGE OF ACRE (A.D. 1799). J. R. Miller 1838
THE FIRST CONSUL (A.D. 1799). William Francis Collier . . . 1849
THE INVENTION OF THE STEAMBOAT (A.D. 1801-1807). James Renwick 1857
THE BATTLE OF TRAFALGAR (A.D. 1805). Charles Alan Fyffe . . 1871
THE GREAT TRIUMPHS OF NAPOLEON (A.D. 1805-1812). William Francis Collier 1879
THE MOSCOW CAMPAIGN (A.D. 1812). Charles Alan Fyffe . . . 1887
THE BATTLE OF VITTORIA (A.D. 1813). Sir Archibald Alison . . 1907
THE BATTLE OF LAKE ERIE (A.D. 1813). James Fenimore Cooper . 1921
THE DOWNFALL OF NAPOLEON (A.D. 1815). Sutherland Menzies . 1931
WESTERN EUROPE AND THE HOLY ALLIANCE (A.D. 1815-1825). Richard Lodge 1943
WAR OF GREEK INDEPENDENCE (A.D. 1821-1832). W. Alison Phillips 1968

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

VOLUME FOUR

WATT DISCOVERING THE CONDENSATION OF STEAM. From Painting by Stone.

NAPOLEON'S CUIRASSIERS AT WATERLOO (THE DOWNFALL OF NAPOLEON—A.D. 1815). From Painting by Berkley.

THE RETREAT FROM MOSCOW (A.D. 1812). From Painting by Meissonier.

THE BATTLE OF BLENHEIM

(A.D. 1704)

E. S. CREASY

THOUGH more slowly molded and less imposingly vast than the empire of Napoleon, the power which Louis XIV. had acquired and was acquiring at the commencement of the Eighteenth Century was almost equally menacing to the general liberties of Europe. Tested by the amount of *permanent* aggrandizement which each procured for France, the ambition of the royal Bourbon was more successful than were the enterprises of the imperial Corsican. All the provinces that Bonaparte conquered were rent again from France within twenty years from the date when the very earliest of them was acquired. France is not stronger by a single city or a single acre for all the devastating wars of the Consulate and the Empire. But she still possesses Franche-Comté Alsace, and part of Flanders. She has still the extended boundaries which Louis XIV. gave her.

Empire of Louis XIV.

When Louis XIV. began to govern, he

His absolute power.

found all the materials for a strong government ready to his hand. Richelieu had completely tamed the turbulent spirit of the French nobility, and had subverted the "imperium in imperio" of the Huguenots. The faction of the Frondeurs in Mazarin's time had had the effect of making the Parisian Parliament utterly hateful and contemptible in the eyes of the nation. The Assemblies of the States-General were obsolete. The royal authority alone remained. The King was the State. Louis knew his position. He fearlessly avowed it, and he fearlessly acted up to it.

Impotence of the rest of Europe.

While France was thus strong and united in herself, what European power was there fit to cope with her or keep her in check?

"As to Germany, the ambitious projects of the German branch of Austria had been entirely defeated, the peace of the Empire had been restored, and almost a new constitution formed, or an old revived, by the treaties of Westphalia; *nay, the imperial eagle was not only fallen, but her wings were clipped.*"

As to Spain, the Spanish branch of the Austrian house had sunk equally low. Philip II. left his successors a ruined monarchy.

It is not, therefore, to be wondered at, that France, in the first war of Louis XIV., despised the opposition of both branches of the once predominant house of Austria. Indeed, in Germany, the French King acquired allies

among the princes of the Empire against the Emperor himself. He had a still stronger support in Austria's misgovernment of her own subjects. "France became a sure though secret ally of the Turks as well as the Hungarians, and has found her account in it by keeping the Emperor in perpetual alarms on that side, while she has ravaged the Empire and the Low Countries on the other."* France's allies.

If we turn to the two only remaining European powers of any importance at that time, to England and to Holland, we find the position of our own country as to European politics, from 1660 to 1688, most painful to contemplate. From 1660 to 1688, "England, by the return of the Stuarts, was reduced to a nullity." The words are Michelet's, and, though severe, they are just. England and Holland.

Holland alone, of all the European powers, opposed from the very beginning a steady and uniform resistance to the ambition and power of the French King. It was against Holland that the fiercest attacks of France were made, and, though often apparently on the eve of complete success, they were always ultimately baffled by the stubborn bravery of the Dutch, and the heroism of their great leader, William of Orange. When he became King of England, the power of this country was thrown decidedly into the scale against France; but though the contest was thus rendered less un-

* Bolingbroke.

equal, France had the general superiority in every war and in every treaty; and the commencement of the Eighteenth Century found the last league against her dissolved, all the forces of confederates against her dispersed, and many disbanded.

Twofold ambition of Louis XIV.

It must be borne in mind that the ambition of Louis was twofold. Its immediate object was to conquer and annex to France the neighboring provinces and towns that were most convenient for the increase of her strength, but the ulterior object of Louis, from the time of his marriage to the Spanish Infanta in 1659, was to acquire for the house of Bourbon the whole Empire of Spain. As the time passed on, and the prospect of Charles II. of Spain dying without lineal heirs became more and more certain, so did the claims of the house of Bourbon to the Spanish crown after his death become matters of urgent interest to French ambition on the one hand, and to the other powers of Europe on the other. At length the unhappy King of Spain died. By his will he appointed Philip, Duke of Anjou, one of Louis XIV.'s grandsons, to succeed him on the throne of Spain, and strictly forbade any partition of his dominions. Louis well knew that a general European war would follow if he accepted for his house the crown thus bequeathed. But he had been preparing for this crisis throughout his reign. He sent his grandson into Spain as King Philip V. of that

Will of Charles II.

country, addressing to him, on his departure, the memorable words, "There are no longer any Pyrenees."

The Empire, which now received the grandson of Louis as its King, comprised, besides Spain itself, the strongest part of the Netherlands, Sardinia, Sicily, Naples, the principality of Milan, and other possessions in Italy, the Philippines and Manilla Islands in Asia, and in the New World, besides California and Florida, the greatest part of Central and Southern America. Philip was well received in Madrid, where he was crowned as King Philip V. in the beginning of 1701. The distant portions of his Empire sent in their adhesion; and the house of Bourbon, either by its French or Spanish troops, now had occupation both of the kingdom of Francis I., and of the fairest and amplest portions of the Empire of the great rival of Francis, Charles V.

Spain's possessions.

Loud was the wrath of Austria, whose princes were the rival claimants of the Bourbons for the Empire of Spain. The indignation of our William III., though not equally loud, was far more deep and energetic. By his exertions, a League against the house of Bourbon was formed between England, Holland, and the Austrian Emperor, which was subsequently joined by the Kings of Portugal and Prussia, by the Duke of Savoy, and by Denmark. Indeed, the alarm throughout Europe was now general and urgent. It was

League against the Bourbons.

evident that Louis aimed at consolidating France and the Spanish dominions into one preponderating empire.

Death of William.

The death of King William, on the 8th of March, 1702, at first seemed likely to paralyze the League against France. A short time showed how vain the fears of some and the hope of others were. Queen Anne, within three days after her accession, went down to the House of Lords, and there declared her resolution to support the measures planned by her predecessor. Anne was married to Prince George of Denmark, and by her accession to the English throne the confederacy against Louis obtained the aid of the troops of Denmark; but Anne's strong attachment to one of her female friends led to far more important advantages to the anti-Gallican confederacy than the acquisition of many armies, for it gave them Marlborough as their captain-general.

Marlborough's ability.

King William's knowledge of Marlborough's high abilities is said to have caused that sovereign in his last illness to recommend Marlborough to his successor as the fittest person to command her armies.

He was not only made captain-general of the English forces at home and abroad, but such was the authority of England in the council of the Grand Alliance, and Marlborough was so skilled in winning golden opinions from all whom he met with, that

on his reaching The Hague he was received with transports of joy by the Dutch, and it was agreed by the heads of that republic, and the minister of the Emperor, that Marlborough should have the chief command of all the allied armies.

It must, indeed, in justice to Marlborough, be borne in mind that mere military skill was by no means all that was required of him in his arduous and invidious station. Had it not been for his unrivalled patience and sweetness of temper, and his marvellous ability in discerning the character of those whom he had to act with, his intuitive perception of those who were to be thoroughly trusted, and of those who were to be amused with the mere semblance of respect and confidence; had not Marlborough possessed and employed, while at the head of the allied armies, all the qualifications of a polished courtier and a great statesman, he never would have led the allied armies to the Danube. The confederacy would not have held together for a single year.

His arduous station.

War was formally declared by the allies against France on the 4th of May, 1702. The principal scenes of its operations were, at first, Flanders, the Upper Rhine, and North Italy. Marlborough headed the allied troops in Flanders during the first two years of the war, and took some towns from the enemy, but nothing decisive occurred. Nor did any

War declared against France.

actions of importance take place during this period between the rival armies in Italy. But in the centre of that line, from north to south, from the mouth of the Scheldt to the mouth of the Po, along which the war was carried on, the generals of Louis XIV. acquired advantages in 1703 which threatened one chief member of the Grand Alliance with utter destruction. France had obtained the important assistance of Bavaria as her confederate in the war. The elector of this powerful German State made himself master of the strong fortress of Ulm, and opened a communication with the French armies on the Upper Rhine. By this junction, the troops of Louis were enabled to assail the Emperor in the very heart of Germany. In the autumn of the year 1703, the combined armies of the elector and French King completely defeated the Imperialists in Bavaria: and in the following winter they made themselves masters of the important cities of Augsburg and Passau. Meanwhile the French army of the Upper Rhine and Moselle had beaten the allied armies opposed to them, and taken Treves with Landau. At the same time, the discontents in Hungary with Austria again broke out into open insurrection, so as to distract the attention and complete the terror of the Emperor and his council at Vienna.

Bavaria assists France.

French successes.

Louis XIV. ordered the next campaign to be commenced by his troops on a scale of

grandeur and with a boldness of enterprise such as even Napoleon's military schemes have seldom equalled. On the extreme left of the line of war, in the Netherlands, the French armies were to act only on the defensive. The fortresses in the hands of the French there were so many and so strong that no serious impression seemed likely to be made by the allies on the French frontier in that quarter during one campaign, and that one campaign was to give France such triumphs elsewhere as would (it was hoped) determine the war. Large detachments were therefore to be made from the French force in Flanders, and they were to be led by Marshal Villeroy to the Moselle and Upper Rhine. The French army already in the neighborhood of those rivers was to march under Marshal Tallard through the Black Forest and join the Elector of Bavaria, and the French troops that were already with the elector under Marshal Marsin. Meanwhile the French army of Italy was to advance through the Tyrol into Austria, and the whole forces were to combine between the Danube and the Inn. A strong body of troops was to be despatched into Hungary, to assist and organize the insurgents in that kingdom; and the French grand army of the Danube was then in collected and irresistible might to march upon Vienna, and dictate terms of peace to the Emperor.

Plans of campaign.

Anxiety of Marlborough.

Marlborough had watched, with the deepest anxiety, the progress of the French arms on the Rhine and in Bavaria, and he saw the futility of carrying on a war of posts and sieges in Flanders, while death-blows to the Empire were being dealt on the Danube. He resolved, therefore, to let the war in Flanders languish for a year, while he moved with all the disposable forces that he could collect to the central scenes of decisive operations. Such a march was in itself difficult; but Marlborough had, in the first instance, to overcome the still greater difficulty of obtaining the consent and cheerful co-operation of the allies, especially of the Dutch, whose frontier it was proposed thus to deprive of the larger part of the force which had hitherto been its protection: to the general councils of his allies he only disclosed part of his daring scheme. He proposed to the Dutch that he should march from Flanders to the Upper Rhine and Moselle with the British troops and part of the foreign auxiliaries, and commence vigorous operations against the French armies in that quarter, while General Auverquerque, with the Dutch and the remainder of the auxiliaries, maintained a defensive war in the Netherlands. Having with difficulty obtained the consent of the Dutch to this portion of his project, he exercised the same diplomatic zeal, with the same success, in urging the King of Prussia and other princes of the Em-

Marlborough's scheme.

pire to increase the number of the troops which they supplied, and to post them in places convenient for his own intended movements.

Marlborough commenced his celebrated march on the 19th of May. He had only marched a single day, when the series of interruptions, complaints, and requisitions from the other leaders of the allies began, to which he seemed subjected throughout his enterprise, and which would have caused its failure in the hands of any one not gifted with the firmness and the exquisite temper of Marlborough. Marlborough's march.

Marlborough reached the Rhine at Coblentz, where he crossed that river, and then marched along its left bank to Broubach and Mentz. Before even a blow was struck, his enterprise had paralyzed the enemy, and had materially released Austria from the pressure of the war. Villeroy, with his detachments from the French Flemish army, was completely bewildered by Marlborough's movements; and, unable to divine where it was that the English general meant to strike his blow, wasted away the early part of the summer between Flanders and the Moselle without effecting anything. Villeroy's bewilderment.

Marshal Tallard, who commanded forty-five thousand French at Strasburg, and who had been destined by Louis to march early in the year into Bavaria, thought that Marlborough's march along the Rhine was prelim-

Tallard's apprehensions.

inary to an attack upon Alsace; and the marshal, therefore, kept back in order to protect France in that quarter. Marlborough skilfully encouraged his apprehensions, by causing a bridge to be constructed across the Rhine at Philipsburg, and by making the Landgrave of Hesse advance his artillery at Mannheim, as if for a siege at Landau. Meanwhile the Elector of Bavaria and Marshal Marsin, suspecting that Marlborough's design might be what it really proved to be, forbore to press upon the Austrians opposed to them, or to send troops into Hungary; they kept back so as to secure their communications with France. Thus, when Marlborough, at the beginning of June, left the Rhine and marched for the Danube, the numerous hostile armies were uncombined, and unable to check him.

Marlborough marches for the Danube.

"With such skill and science had this enterprise been concerted, that at the very moment when it assumed a specific direction, the enemy was no longer enabled to render it abortive. As the march was now to be bent toward the Danube, notice was given for the Prussians, Palatines, and Hessians, who were stationed on the Rhine, to order their march so as to join the main body in its progress. At the same time, directions were sent to accelerate the advance of the Danish auxiliaries, who were marching from the Netherlands."*

Crossing the river Neckar, Marlborough

* Coxe.

marched in a southeastern direction to Mundelshene, where he had his first personal interview with Prince Eugene. Thence, through a difficult and dangerous country, Marlborough continued his march against the Bavarians, whom he encountered on the 2d of July on the heights of the Schullenberg, close to Donauwert. Marlborough stormed their intrenched camp, crossed the Danube, took several strong places in Bavaria, and made himself completely master of the elector's dominions, except the fortified cities of Munich and Augsburg. But the elector's army, though defeated at Donauwert, was still numerous and strong: and at last Marshal Tallard, when thoroughly apprised of the real nature of Marlborough's movements, crossed the Rhine; and being suffered, through the supineness of the German general at Stollhoffen, to march without loss through the Black Forest, he united his powerful army at Biberbach, near Augsburg, with that of the elector and the French troops under Marshal Marsin, who had previously been co-operating with the Bavarians.

Meeting of Marlborough and Prince Eugene.

Tallard joins Marsin.

On the other hand, Marlborough recrossed the Danube, and on the 11th of August united his army with the Imperialist forces under Prince Eugene. The combined armies occupied a position near Hochstadt, a little higher up the left bank of the Danube than Donauwert, the scene of Marlborough's recent vic-

tory. The French marshals and the elector were now in position a little further to the east, between Blenheim and Lutzingen, and with the little stream of the Nebel between them and the troops of Marlborough and Eugene. The Gallo-Bavarian army consisted of about sixty thousand men, and they had sixty-one pieces of artillery. The army of the allies was about fifty-six thousand strong with fifty-two guns.

Positions of the armies.

The French and Bavarians were posted behind a little stream called the Nebel, which runs almost from north to south into the Danube immediately in front of the village of Blenheim. The Nebel flows along a little valley, and the French occupied the rising ground to the west of it. The village of Blenheim was the extreme right of their position, and the village of Lutzingen, about three miles north of Blenheim, formed their left. Beyond Lutzingen are the rugged high grounds of the Godd Berg and Eich Berg, on the skirts of which some detachments were posted, so as to secure the Gallo-Bavarian position from being turned on the left flank. The Danube secured their right flank; and it was only in front that they could be attacked. The villages of Blenheim and Lutzingen had been strongly palisaded and intrenched. Marshal Tallard, who held the chief command, took his station at Blenheim; the elector and Marshal Marsin commanded

Tallard's position at Blenheim.

on the left. Tallard garrisoned Blenheim with twenty-six battalions of French infantry and twelve squadrons of French cavalry. Marsin and the elector had twenty-two battalions of infantry and thirty-six squadrons of cavalry in front of the village of Lutzingen. The centre was occupied by fourteen battalions of infantry, including the celebrated Irish brigade. These were posted in the little hamlet of Oberglau, which lies somewhat nearer to Lutzingen than to Blenheim. Eighty squadrons of cavalry and seven battalions of foot were ranged between Oberglau and Blenheim. Thus the French position was very strong at each extremity, but was comparatively weak in the centre. Tallard seems to have relied on the swampy state of the part of the valley that reaches from below Oberglau to Blenheim for preventing any serious attack on this part of his line.

Dispositions of the allies.

The army of the allies was formed into two great divisions, the largest being commanded by the Duke in person, and being destined to act against Tallard, while Prince Eugene led the other division, which consisted chiefly of cavalry, and was intended to oppose the enemy under Marsin and the elector. As they approached the enemy, Marlborough's troops formed the left and the centre, while Eugene's formed the right of the entire army. Early in the morning of the 13th of August, the allies left their own camp and marched toward the

enemy. A thick haze covered the ground, and it was not until the allied right and centre had advanced nearly within cannon shot of the enemy that Tallard was aware of their approach.

The battle opens.

He completed his preparations with what haste he could, and about eight o'clock a heavy fire of artillery was opened from the French right on the advancing left wing of the British. Marlborough ordered up some of his batteries to reply to it, and while the columns that were to form the allied left and centre deployed, and took up their proper stations in the line, a warm cannonade was kept up by the guns on both sides.

Eugene's difficulties.

The ground which Eugene's columns had to traverse was peculiarly difficult, especially for the passage of the artillery, and it was nearly midday before he could get his troops into line opposite to Lutzingen. During this interval, Marlborough ordered divine service to be performed by the chaplains at the head of each regiment, and then rode along the lines, and found both officers and men in the highest spirits, and waiting impatiently for the signal for the attack. At length an aide-de-camp galloped up from the right with the welcome news that Eugene was ready. Marlborough instantly sent Lord Cutts, with a strong brigade of infantry, to assault the village of Blenheim, while he himself led the main body down the eastward slope of the

Cutts's assault on Blenheim.

valley of the Nebel, and prepared to effect the passage of the stream.

Attack on the French centre.

The assault on Blenheim, though bravely made, was repulsed with severe loss; and Marlborough, finding how strongly that village was garrisoned, desisted from any further attempts to carry it, and bent all his energies to breaking the enemy's line between Blenheim and Oberglau. Some temporary bridges had been prepared, and planks and fascines had been collected; and by the aid of these, and a little stone bridge which crossed the Nebel near a hamlet called Unterglau, that lay in the centre of the valley, Marlborough succeeded in getting several squadrons across the Nebel, though it was divided into several branches, and the ground between them was soft, and, in places, little better than a mere marsh. But the French artillery was not idle. The cannon balls plunged incessantly among the advancing squadrons of the allies, and bodies of French cavalry rode frequently down from the western ridge, to charge them before they had time to form on the firm ground. It was only by supporting his men by fresh troops, and by bringing up infantry, who checked the advance of the enemy's horse by their steady fire, that Marlborough was able to save his army in this quarter from a repulse, which, succeeding the failure of the attack upon Blenheim, would probably have been fatal to

the allies. By degrees, his cavalry struggled over the blood-stained streams; the infantry were also now brought across, so as to keep in check the French troops who held Blenheim, and who, when no longer assailed in front, had begun to attack the allies on their left with considerable effect.

Peril of the allied centre.

Marlborough had thus at last succeeded in drawing up the whole left wing of his army beyond the Nebel, and was about to press forward with it, when he was called away to another part of the field by a disaster that had befallen his centre. The Prince of Holstein Beck had, with eleven Hanoverian battalions, passed the Nebel opposite to Oberglau, when he was charged and utterly routed by the Irish brigade which held that village. The Irish drove the Hanoverians back with heavy slaughter, broke completely through the line of the allies, and nearly achieved a success as brilliant as that which the same brigade afterward gained at Fontenoy. But at Blenheim their ardor in pursuit led them too far. Marlborough came up in person, and dashed in upon the exposed flank of the brigade with some squadrons of British cavalry. The Irish reeled back, and as they strove to regain the height of Oberglau, their column was raked through and through by the fire of three battalions of the allies, which Marlborough had summoned up from the reserve.

Eugene had hitherto not been equally for-

tunate. He had made three attacks on the enemy opposed to him, and had been thrice driven back. It was only by his own desperate personal exertions and the remarkable steadiness of the regiments of Prussian infantry which were under him, that he was able to save his wing from being totally defeated. Marlborough restores order.

Like Hannibal, Marlborough relied principally on his cavalry for achieving his decisive successes, and it was by his cavalry that Blenheim, the greatest of his victories, was won. The battle had lasted till five in the afternoon. Marlborough had now eight thousand horsemen drawn up in two lines, and in the most perfect order for a general attack on the enemy's line along the space between Blenheim and Oberglau. The infantry was drawn up in battalions in their rear, so as to support them if repulsed, and to keep in check the large masses of the French that still occupied the village of Blenheim. Tallard now interlaced his squadrons of cavalry with battalions of infantry; and Marlborough, by a corresponding movement, brought several regiments of infantry, and some pieces of artillery, to his front line at intervals between the bodies of horse. A little after five, Marlborough commenced the decisive movement, and the allied cavalry, strengthened and supported by foot and guns, advanced slowly from the lower ground near the Nebel up the slope to where the French cavalry, ten thou- Blenheim won by cavalry. The decisive charge.

sand strong, awaited them. On riding over the summit of the acclivity, the allies were received with so hot a fire from the French artillery and small arms, that at first the cavalry recoiled, but without abandoning the high ground. The guns and the infantry which they had brought with them maintained the contest with spirit and effect. The French fire seemed to slacken. Marlborough instantly ordered a charge along the line. The allied cavalry galloped forward at the enemy's squadrons, and the hearts of the French horsemen failed them. Discharging their carbines at an idle distance, they wheeled round and spurred from the field, leaving the nine infantry battalions of their comrades to be ridden down by the torrent of the allied cavalry. The battle was now won. Tallard and Marsin, severed from each other, thought only of retreat. Tallard drew up the squadrons of horse that he had left, in a line extended toward Blenheim, and sent orders to the infantry in that village to leave it and join him without delay. But, long ere his orders could be obeyed, the conquering squadrons of Marlborough had wheeled to the left and thundered down on the feeble array of the French marshal. Part of the force which Tallard had drawn up for this last effort was driven into the Danube; part fled with their general to the village of Sonderheim, where they were soon surrounded by the victorious allies,

Flight of the French horse.

and compelled to surrender. Meanwhile, Eugene had renewed his attack upon the Gallo-Bavarian left, and Marsin, finding his colleague utterly routed, and his own right flank uncovered, prepared to retreat. He and the elector succeeded in withdrawing a considerable part of their troops in tolerable order to Dillingen; but the large body of French who garrisoned Blenheim were left exposed to certain destruction. Marlborough speedily occupied all the outlets from the village with his victorious troops, and then, collecting his artillery around it, he commenced a cannonade that speedily would have destroyed Blenheim itself and all who were in it. After several gallant but unsuccessful attempts to cut their way through the allies, the French in Blenheim were at length compelled to surrender at discretion; and twenty-four battalions and twelve squadrons, with all their officers, laid down their arms, and became the captives of Marlborough.

Marsin's retreat.

Surrender of the French in Blenheim.

"Such," says Voltaire, "was the celebrated battle which the French call the battle of Hochstet, the Germans Plentheim, and the English Blenheim. The conquerors had about five thousand killed and eight thousand wounded, the greater part being on the side of Prince Eugene. The French army was almost entirely destroyed: of sixty thousand men, so long victorious, there never reassembled more than twenty thousand effective.

Losses in the battle.

About twelve thousand killed, fourteen thousand prisoners, all the cannon, a prodigious number of colors and standards, all the tents and equipages, the general of the army, and one thousand two hundred officers of mark in the power of the conqueror, signalized that day!"

Results.

Ulm, Landau, Treves, and Traerbach surrendered to the allies before the close of the year. Bavaria submitted to the Emperor, and the Hungarians laid down their arms. Germany was completely delivered from France, and the military ascendency of the arms of the allies was completely established. Throughout the rest of the war Louis fought only in defence. Blenheim had dissipated forever his once proud visions of almost universal conquest.

[In 1704, the troubles in Hungary increase; the Czar of Russia takes Dorpat, Narva, and gains all Ingria; Galland translates the *Thousand and One Nights* into French; the first newspaper (the *Boston News Letter*) appears in the United States. In 1705, the Earl of Peterborough and Sir Cloudesley Shovel take a strong armament to Spain. In 1706, Marlborough wins a victory at Ramillies which is followed by the conquest of all the Netherlands; the French lose all their Italian conquests. In 1707, Scotland unites with England, and the first united Parliament of Great

First newspaper in the United States.

Britain meets; the royal veto is exercised for the last time in England; Bohemia obtains a seat in the Diet; the Jesuits are expelled from Holland; and Aurungzebe dies and the Mogul dynasty decays. In 1708, the French are defeated at Oudenarde; Lille is captured and the whole of Flanders submits. The Emperor takes the Duchy of Mantua; Charles XII. invades Russia, and turns aside into the Ukraine on promise of help from Mazeppa; the Whigs expel the Tories from power; and Mrs. Masham displaces the Duchess of Marlborough in Queen Anne's favor. In 1709, Tournay and Malplaquet are taken by Marlborough and Prince Eugene, and Mons surrenders. Charles XII. is crushed by the Russians. Russian prisoners are first exiled to Siberia.]

The Mogul dynasty decays.

Russian prisoners first exiled to Siberia.

THE BATTLE OF PULTOWA

(A.D. 1709)

E. S. CREASY

A CENTURY and a half have hardly elapsed since Russia was first recognized as a member of the drama of modern European history—previous to the battle of Pultowa, Russia played no part. Charles V. and his great rival, our Elizabeth and her adversary Philip of Spain, the Guises, Sully, Richelieu, Cromwell, De Witt, William of Orange, and the other leading spirits of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, thought no more about the Muscovite Czar than we now think about the King of Timbuctoo. Even as late as 1735, Lord Bolingbroke, in his admirable *Letters of History*, speaks of the history of the Muscovites as having no relation to the knowledge which a practical English statesman ought to acquire. It may be doubted whether a cabinet council often takes place now in our Foreign Office without Russia being uppermost in every English statesman's thought.

Insignificant position of Russia in Europe.

But, though Russia remained thus long unheeded among her snows, there was a North-

ern power, the influence of which was acknowledged in the principal European quarrels, and whose good will was sedulously courted by many of the boldest chiefs and ablest counsellors of the leading states. This was Sweden; Sweden, on whose ruins Russia has arisen, but whose ascendency over her semi-barbarous neighbor was complete, until the fatal battle that now forms our subject.

Importance of Sweden.

As early as 1542 France had sought the alliance of Sweden to aid her in her struggle against Charles V. And the name of Gustavus Adolphus is of itself sufficient to remind us that in the great contest for religious liberty, of which Germany was for thirty years the arena, it was Sweden that rescued the falling cause of Protestantism, and it was Sweden that principally dictated the remodelling of the European state-system at the Peace of Westphalia.

Possessions of Sweden.

From the proud pre-eminence in which the valor of the "Lion of the North," and of Torstenston, Bannier, Wrangel, and the other generals of Gustavus, guided by the wisdom of Oxenstiern, had placed Sweden, the defeat of Charles XII. at Pultowa hurled her down at once and forever. Her efforts during the wars of the French Revolution to assume a leading part in European politics met with instant discomfiture, and almost provoked derision. But the Sweden whose sceptre was bequeathed to Christiana, and whose alliance

Cromwell valued so highly, was a different power to the Sweden of the present day. Finland, Ingria, Livonia, Esthonia, Carelia, and other districts east of the Baltic, then were Swedish provinces; and the possession of Pomerania, Rugen, and Bremen, made her an important member of the Germanic empire. These territories are now all reft from her and the most valuable of them form the staple of her victorious rival's strength.

Significance of Russia's triumph.

The decisive triumph of Russia over Sweden at Pultowa was therefore all-important to the world, on account of what it overthrew as well as for what it established; and it is the more deeply interesting because it was not merely the crisis of a struggle between two states, but it was a trial of strength between two great races of mankind. In the long and varied conflicts between them, the Germanic race had, before Pultowa, almost always maintained a superiority. With the single but important exception of Poland, no Slavonic state had made any considerable figure in history before the time when Peter the Great won his great victory over the Swedish king.

Sweden's rise and fall.

Whatever may have been the amount of national injuries that she sustained from Swede, from Tartar, or from Pole in the ages of her weakness, she has certainly retaliated tenfold during the century and a half of her strength. Her rapid transition at the commencement of that period from being the prey of every con-

queror to being the conqueror of all with whom she comes into contact, to being the oppressor instead of the oppressed, is almost without a parallel in the history of nations. It was the work of a single ruler; who, himself without education, promoted science and literature among barbaric millions; who gave them fleets, commerce, arts, and arms; who, at Pultowa, taught them to face and beat the previously invincible Swedes; and who made stubborn valor and implicit subordination from that time forth the distinguishing characteristics of the Russian soldiery, which had before his time been a mere disorderly and irresolute rabble.

Russia the work of a single ruler.

Peter was brought up among barbarians and barbaric ignorance. He strove to remedy this, when a grown man, by leaving all the temptations to idleness and sensuality which his court offered, and by seeking instruction abroad. He labored with his own hand as a common artisan in Holland and England, that he might return and teach his subjects how ships, commerce, and civilization could be acquired.

Peter the Great.

In considering the effects of the overthrow of the Swedish arms sustained at Pultowa, and in speculating on the probable consequences that would have followed if the invaders had been successful, we must not only bear in mind the wretched state in which Peter found Russia at his accession, compared with her present

grandeur, but we must also keep in view the fact that, at the time when Pultowa was fought, his reforms were yet incomplete, and his new institutions immature. He had broken up the Old Russia; and the New Russia, which he ultimately created, was still in embryo. Had he been crushed at Pultowa, his immense labors would have been buried with him, and (to use the words of Voltaire) "the most extensive empire in the world would have relapsed into the chaos from which it had been so lately taken." It is this fact that makes the repulse of Charles XII. the critical point in the fortunes of Russia.

A critical moment.

Peter had wisely abolished the old, regular troops of the Empire, the Strelitzes; but the forces which he had raised in their stead on a new and foreign plan, and principally officered with foreigners, had, before the Swedish invasion, given no proof that they could be relied on. In numerous encounters with the Swedes, Peter's soldiery had run like sheep before inferior numbers. Great discontent, also, had been excited among all classes of the community by the arbitrary changes which their great Emperor introduced, many of which clashed with the most cherished national prejudices of his subjects. A career of victory and prosperity had not yet raised Peter above the reach of that disaffection, nor had superstitious obedience to the Czar yet become the characteristic of the

Peter's soldiery.

Muscovite mind. The victorious occupation of Moscow by Charles XII. would have quelled the Russian nation as effectually as had been the case when Batou Kahn, and other ancient invaders, captured the capital of primitive Muscovy. How little such a triumph could effect toward subduing modern Russia, the fate of Napoleon demonstrated at once and forever.

Charles XII.

The character of Charles XII. has been a favorite theme with historians, moralists, philosophers, and poets. But it is his military conduct during the campaign in Russia that alone requires comment here. After making all allowances, we must admit the force of Napoleon's strictures on Charles's tactics, and own that his judgment, though severe, is correct, when he pronounces that the Swedish King, unlike his great predecessor, Gustavus, knew nothing of the art of war and was nothing more than a brave and intrepid soldier. Such, however, was not the light in which Charles was regarded by his contemporaries at the commencement of his Russian expedition. His numerous victories, his daring and resolute spirit, combined with the ancient renown of the Swedish arms, then filled all Europe with admiration and anxiety. As Johnson expresses it, his name was then one at which the world grew pale. Even Louis le Grand earnestly solicited his assistance; and our own Marlborough, then in the full career of his

Desire for his alliance.

victories, was specially sent by the English court to the camp of Charles, to propitiate the hero of the North in favor of the cause of the allies, and to prevent the Swedish sword from being flung into the scales in the French King's favor. But Charles at that time was solely bent on dethroning the sovereign of Russia, as he had already dethroned the sovereign of Poland, and all Europe fully believed that he would entirely crush the Czar, and dictate conditions of peace in the Kremlin. Charles himself looked on success as a matter of certainty, and the romantic extravagance of his views was continually increasing. "One year, he thought, would suffice for the conquest of Russia. The court of Rome was next to feel his vengeance, as the Pope had dared to oppose the concession of religious liberty to the Silesian Protestants. No enterprise at that time appeared impossible to him. He had even despatched several officers privately into Asia and Egypt, to take plans of the towns, and to examine into the strength and resources of those countries."*

Charles's ambitions.

Napoleon thus epitomizes the earlier operations of Charles's invasion of Russia:

"That Prince set out from his camp at Aldstadt, near Leipsic, in September, 1707, at the head of 45,000 men, and traversed Poland; 20,000 men, under Count Lewenhaupt, disembarked at Riga; and 15,000 were in Finland.

Napoleon on Charles's invasion of Russia.

* Crichton's *Scandinavia.*

He was, therefore, in a condition to have brought together 80,000 of the best troops in the world. He left 10,000 men at Warsaw to guard King Stanislaus, and, in January, 1708, arrived at Grodno, where he wintered. In June, he crossed the forest of Minsk, and presented himself before Borisov; forced the Russian army, which occupied the left bank of the Beresina; defeated 20,000 Russians who were strongly intrenched behind marshes; passed the Borysthenes at Mohilov, and vanquished a corps of 16,000 Muscovites near Smolensko on the 22d of September. He was now advanced to the confines of Lithuania, and was about to enter Russia proper: the Czar, alarmed at his approach, made him proposals of peace. Up to this time all his movements were conformable to rule, and his communications were well secured. He was master of Poland and Riga, and only ten days' march distant from Moscow; and it is probable that he would have reached that capital, had he not quitted the high road, thither, and, directed his steps toward the Ukraine, in order to form a junction with Mazeppa, who brought him only 6,000 men. By this movement, his line of operations, beginning at Sweden, exposed his flank to Russia for a distance of four hundred leagues, and he was unable to protect it, or to receive either reinforcements or assistance."

His advantages and error.

The Czar had collected an army of about

The Czar's army.

100,000 effective men; and though the Swedes, in the beginning of the invasion, were successful in every encounter, the Russian troops were gradually acquiring discipline; and Peter and his officers were learning generalship from their victors. When Lewenhaupt, in the October of 1708, was striving to join Charles in the Ukraine, the Czar suddenly attacked him near the Borysthenes with an overwhelming force of 50,000 Russians. Lewenhaupt fought bravely for three days, and succeeded in cutting his way through the enemy, with about 4,000 of his men to where Charles awaited him near the river Desna; but upward of 8,000 Swedes fell in these battles; Lewenhaupt's cannon and ammunition were abandoned; and the whole of his important convoy of provisions, on which Charles and his half-starved troops were relying, fell into the enemy's hands. Charles was compelled to remain in the Ukraine during the winter; but in the spring of 1709 he moved forward toward Moscow, and invested the fortified town of Pultowa, on the river Vorksla: a place where the Czar had stored up large supplies of provisions and military stores, and which commanded the passes leading toward Moscow. The possession of this place would have given Charles the means of supplying all the wants of his suffering army, and would also have furnished him with a secure base of operations for his advance against the Musco-

Charles besieges Pultowa.

vite capital. The siege was therefore hotly pressed by the Swedes; the garrison resisted obstinately; and the Czar, feeling the importance of saving the town, advanced, in June, to its relief, at the head of an army from fifty to sixty thousand strong.

Peter's generalship.

Both sovereigns now prepared for the general action, which each saw to be inevitable, and which each felt would be decisive of his own and of his country's destiny. The Czar, by some masterly manœuvres, crossed the Vorksla, and posted his army on the same side of the river with the besiegers, but a little higher up. The Vorksla falls into the Borysthenes about fifteen leagues below Pultowa, and the Czar arranged his forces in two lines, stretching from one river toward the other, so that if the Swedes attacked him and were repulsed, they would be driven backward into the acute angle formed by the two streams at their junction. He fortified these lines with several redoubts lined with heavy artillery; and his troops, both horse and foot, were in the best possible condition, and amply provided with stores and ammunition. Charles's forces were about 24,000 strong. But not more than half of these were Swedes: so much had battle, famine, fatigue, and the deadly frosts of Russia thinned the gallant bands which the Swedish King and Lewenhaupt had led to the Ukraine. The other 12,000 men, under Charles, were Cossacks and Wallachi-

Preparations for action.

ans, who had joined him in the country. On hearing that the Czar was about to attack him, he deemed that his dignity required that he himself should be the assailant; and, leading his army out of their intrenched lines before the town, he advanced with them against the Russian redoubts.

Valor of the Swedes.

He had been severely wounded in the foot in a skirmish a few days before, and was borne in a litter along the ranks into the thick of the fight. Notwithstanding the fearful disparity of numbers and disadvantage of position, the Swedes never showed their ancient valor more nobly than on that dreadful day. Nor do their Cossack and Wallachian allies seem to have been unworthy of fighting side by side with Charles's veterans. Two of the Russian redoubts were actually entered, and the Swedish infantry began to raise the cry of victory. But, on the other side, neither general nor soldiers flinched in their duty. The Russian cannonade and musketry were kept up; fresh masses of defenders were poured into the fortifications, and at length the exhausted remnants of the Swedish columns recoiled from the blood-stained redoubts. Then the Czar led the infantry and cavalry of his first line outside the works, drew them up steadily and skilfully, and the action was renewed along the whole fronts of the two armies on the open ground. Each sovereign exposed his life freely in the world-

Their repulse.

winning battle, and on each side the troops fought obstinately and eagerly under their ruler's eye. It was not till two hours from the commencement of the action that, overpowered by numbers, the hitherto invincible Swedes gave way. All was then hopeless disorder and irreparable rout. Driven downward to where the rivers join, the fugitive Swedes surrendered to their victorious pursuers, or perished in the waters of the Borysthenes. Only a few hundred swam that river with their King and the Cossack Mazeppa, and escaped into the Turkish territory. Nearly 10,000 lay killed and wounded in the redoubts and on the field of battle.

Their irreparable rout.

In the joy of his heart the Czar exclaimed, when the strife was over, "That the son of the morning had fallen from heaven, and that the foundation of St. Petersburg at length stood firm." Even on that battlefield, near the Ukraine, the Russian Emperor's first thoughts were of conquests and aggrandizement on the Baltic. The peace of Nystadt, which transferred the fairest provinces of Sweden to Russia, ratified the judgment of battle which was pronounced at Pultowa. Attacks on Turkey and Persia by Russia commenced almost directly after that victory. And though the Czar failed in his first attempts against the Sultan, the successors of Peter have, one and all, carried on a uniformly aggressive and successive system of policy against Turkey, and against

The Peace of Nystadt

other States, Asiatic as well as European, which have had the misfortune of having Russia for a neighbor.

[Peter reconquers Poland in 1709, and all the Swedish possessions in Germany are threatened by Russia, Prussia, Denmark, and Saxony. In 1710, Peter conquers Riga, Livonia, Esthonia, etc.; Charles XII. induces the Sultan to declare war against Russia; Rakoksy, finally defeated at Romhany, withdraws from Hungary; Colonel Nicholson takes the French settlement of Port Royal (in Acadia) and calls it Annapolis. The South Sea Company is organized. In 1711, the Emperor dies, and is succeeded by the Archduke Charles; Marlborough is recalled; the Rakoksy revolt is ended by the Treaty of Szathmar. In 1712, diplomats meet at Utrecht. The Duke of Burgundy, his wife and son die, and the Danes conquer the Swedish duchies of Bremen and Verden. In 1713, the Russians defeat the Swedes, who, in turn, defeat the Danes; Pomerania is invaded by Denmark and Poland and Stettin occupied by Poland.]

The South Sea Company organized.

THE PEACE OF UTRECHT

(A.D. 1713)

FRANCOIS PIERRE GUILLAUME GUIZOT

QUEEN ANNE, wearied with the cupidity and haughtiness of the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough, had given them notice to quit; the friends of the Duke had shared his fall, and the Tories succeeded the Whigs in power. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Harley, soon afterward Earl of Oxford, and the Secretary of State, St. John, who became Lord Bolingbroke, were inclined to peace. Advances were made in France. A French priest, Abbé Gautier, living in obscurity in England, arrived in Paris during January, 1711; he went to see M. de Torcy at Versailles. "Do you want peace?" said he. "I have come to bring you the means for treating for it, and concluding independently of the Hollanders, unworthy of the ing's kindnesses and of the honor he has so ften done them of applying to them to pacifiate Europe." "To ask just then one of his lajesty's ministers if he desired peace," says `orcy, "was to ask a sick man suffering from

Fall of the Whigs.

Peace overtures.

a long and dangerous disease if he wants to be cured." Negotiations were secretly opened with the English cabinet. The Emperor Joseph had just died (April 17, 1711). He left none but daughters. From that moment Archduke Charles inherited the domains of the house of Austria, and aspired to the imperial crown; by giving him Spain, Europe re-established the monarchy of Charles V.; she saw the dangers into which she was being drawn by the resentments or short-sighted ambition of the triumvirate; she fell back upon the wise projects of William III. Holland had abandoned them; to England fell the honor of making them triumphant. She has often made war upon the Continent with indomitable obstinacy and perseverance; but at bottom and by the very force of circumstances England remains, as regards the affairs of Europe, an essentially pacific power. War brings her no advantage; she can not pretend to any territorial aggrandizement in Europe; it is the equilibrium between the continental powers that makes her strength, and her first interest was always to maintain it.

England the peace-maker of Europe.

The campaign of 1711 was everywhere insignificant. Negotiations were still going on with England, secretly and through subordinate agents: Ménager, member of the Board of Trade, for France; and for England, the poet, Prior, strongly attached to Harley. On the 29th of January, 1712, the general con-

Conferences are opened at Utrecht.

ferences were opened at Utrecht. The French had been anxious to avoid The Hague, dreading the obstinacy of Heinsius in favor of his former proposals. Preliminary points were already settled with England; enormous advantages were secured in America to English commerce, to which was ceded Newfoundland and all that France still possessed in Acadia; the general proposals had been accepted by Queen Anne and her ministers. In vain had the Hollanders and Prince Eugene made great efforts to modify them; St. John had dryly remarked that England had borne the greatest part in the burden of the war, and it was but just that she should direct the negotiations for peace. For five years past the United Provinces, exhausted by the length of hostilities, had constantly been defaulters in their engagements; it was proved to Prince Eugene that the imperial army had not been increased by two regiments in consequence of the war; the Emperor's ambassador, M. de Galas, displayed impertinence: he was forbidden to come to the court; in spite of the reserve imposed upon the English ministers by the strife of parties in a free country, their desire for peace was evident. The Queen had just ordered the creation of new peers in order to secure a majority of the Upper House in favor of a pacific policy.

England tired of war.

The bolts of Heaven were falling one after another upon the royal family of France.

Afflictions of Louis XIV

On the 14th of April, 1711, Louis XIV. had lost by smallpox his son, the grand dauphin, a mediocre and submissive creature, ever the most humble subject of the King, at just fifty years of age. His eldest son, the Duke of Burgundy, devout, austere, and capable, the hope of good men and the terror of intriguers, had taken the rank of dauphin, and was seriously commencing his apprenticeship in government, when he was carried off on the 18th of February, 1712, by spotted fever (*rougeole pourprée*), six days after his wife, the charming Mary Adelaide of Savoy, the idol of the whole court, supremely beloved by the King, and by Mme. de Maintenon, who had brought her up; their son, the Duke of Brittany, four years old, died on the 8th of March; a child in the cradle, weakly and ill, the little Duke of Anjou, remained the only shoot of the elder branch of the Bourbons. Dismay seized upon all France; poison was spoken of; the Duke of Orleans was accused; it was necessary to have a post mortem examination; only the hand of God had left its traces. Europe in its turn was excited. If the little Duke of Anjou were to die, the crown of France reverted to Philip V. The Hollanders and the ambassadors of the Emperor Charles VI., recently crowned at Frankfort, insisted on the necessity of a formal renunciation. In accordance with the English ministers, Louis XIV. wrote to his grandson: "If gratitude and

Successive deaths of heirs.

Louis XIV.'s letter to Philip V.

affection toward your subjects are to you pressing reasons for remaining with them, I may say that you owe me the same sentiments; you owe them to your own house, to your country, before Spain. All that I can do for you is to leave you once more the choice, the necessity for concluding peace becoming every day more urgent."

The choice of Philip V. was made; he had already written to his grandfather to say that he would renounce all his rights of succession to the throne of France rather than give up the crown of Spain. This decision was solemnly enregistered by the Cortes. The English required that the Dukes of Berry and Orleans should likewise make renunciation of their rights to the crown of Spain. Negotiations were reopened, but war began again at the same time as the negotiations.

Negotiations again opened.

The King had given Villars the command of the army of Flanders. The Marshal went to Marly to receive his last orders. "You see my plight, Marshal," said Louis XIV. "There are few examples of what is my fate—to lose in the same week a grandson, a grandson's wife and their son, all of very great promise and very tenderly beloved. God is punishing me; I have well deserved it. But suspend we my griefs at my own domestic woes, and look ve to what may be done to prevent those of ne kingdom. If anything were to happen to he army you command, what would be your

idea of the course I should adopt as regards my person?" The Marshal hesitated. The King resumed: "This is what I think; you shall tell me your opinion afterward. I know the courtiers' line of argument; they nearly all wish me to retire to Blois, and not wait for the enemy's army to approach Paris, as it might do if mine were beaten. For my part I am aware that armies so considerable are never defeated to such an extent as to prevent the greater part of mine from retiring upon the Somme. I know that river; it is very difficult to cross; there are forts, too, which could be made strong. I should count upon getting to Péronne or St. Quentin, and there massing all the troops I had, making a last effort with you, and falling together, or saving the kingdom; I will never consent to let the enemy approach my capital."

The King's commands to Villars.

God was to spare Louis XIV. that crowning disaster reserved for other times; in spite of all his defaults and the culpable errors of his life and reign, Providence had given this old man, overwhelmed by so many reverses and sorrows, a truly royal soul, and that regard for his own greatness which set him higher as a king than he would have been as a man. "He had too proud a soul to descend lower than his misfortunes had brought him," says Montesquieu, "and he well knew that courage may right a crown and that infamy never does." On the 25th of May, the King secretly

informed his plenipotentiaries as well as his generals that the English were proposing to him a suspension of hostilities; and he added: "It is no longer a time for flattering the pride of the Hollanders, but, while we treat them in good faith, it must be with the dignity that becomes me." "A style differing from that of the conferences at The Hague and Gertruydenberg," is the remark made by M. de Torcy. That which the King's pride refused to the ill will of the Hollanders he granted to the good will of England. The day of the commencement of the armistice Dunkerque was put as guarantee into the hands of the English, who recalled their native regiments from the army of Prince Eugene; the King complained that they left him the auxiliary troops; the English ministers proposed to prolong the truce, promising to treat separately with France if the allies refused assent to the peace. The news received by Louis XIV. gave him assurance of better conditions than any one had dared to hope for.

The King maintains his dignity.

The armistice.

Villars had not been able to prevent Prince Eugene from becoming master of Quesnoy on the 3d of July; the imperialists were already making preparations to invade France; in their army the causeway which connected Marchiennes with Landrecies was called the *Paris road*. The Marshal resolved to relieve Landrecies, and, having had bridges thrown over the Scheldt, he, on the 23d of July, 1712,

crossed the river between Bouchain and Denain; the latter little place was defended by the Duke of Albemarle, son of General Monk, with seventeen battalions of auxiliary troops in the pay of the allies; Lieutenant-General Albergotti, an experienced soldier, considered the undertaking perilous. "Go and lie down for an hour or two, M. d'Albergotti," said Villars; "to-morrow by three in the morning you shall know whether the enemy's intrenchments are as strong as you suppose." Prince Eugene was coming up by forced marches to relieve Denain, by falling on the rearguard of the French army. It was proposed to Villars to make fascines to fill up the fosses of Denain. "Do you suppose," said he, pointing to the enemy's army in the distance, "that those gentry will give us the time? Our fascines shall be the bodies of the first of our men who fall in the fosse."

Advance of Prince Eugene.

"There was not an instant, not a minute to lose" says the Marshal in his *Mémoires*. "I made my infantry march on four lines in the most beautiful order; as I entered the intrenchment at the head of the troops, I had not gone twenty paces when the Duke of Albemarle and six or seven of the Emperor's lieutenant-generals were at my horse's feet. I begged them to excuse me if present matters did not permit me to show them all the politeness I ought, but that the first of all was to provide for the safety of their persons."

Battle of Denain.

The enemy thought of nothing but flight; the bridges over the Scheldt broke down under the multitude of vehicles and horses; nearly all the defenders of Denain were taken or killed. Prince Eugene could not cross the river, watched as it was by French troops; he did not succeed in saving Marchiennes, which the Count of Broglie had been ordered to invest in the very middle of the action in front of Denain; the imperialists raised the siege of Landrecies, but without daring to attack Villars, reinforced by a few garrisons; the Marshal immediately invested Douai; on the 27th of August, the Emperor's troops who were defending one of the forts demanded a capitulation; the officers who went out asked for a delay of four days, so as to receive orders from Prince Eugene; the Marshal, who was in the trenches, called his grenadiers. "This is my council on such occasions," said he to the astonished imperialists. "My friends, these captains demand four days' time to receive orders from their general; what do you think?" "Leave it to us, Marshal," replied the grenadiers; "in a quarter of an hour we will slit their windpipes." "Gentlemen," said I to the officers, "they will do as they have said; so take your own course."

Prince Eugene baffled.

The garrison surrendered at discretion. Douai capitulated on the 8th of September; Le Quesnoy was taken on the 4th of October, and Bouchain on the 18th; Prince Eugene had

Surrender of Douai.

not been able to attempt anything; he fell back under the walls of Brussels. On the Rhine, on the Alps, in Spain, the French and Spanish armies had held the enemy in check. The French plenipotentiaries at Utrecht had recovered their courage. "We put on the face the Hollanders had at Gertruydenberg, and they put on ours," wrote the Cardinal de Polignac from Utrecht: "it is a complete turning of the tables." "Gentlemen, peace will be treated for among you, for you and without you," was the remark made to the Hollanders. Hereditary adversary of the Van Witts and their party, Heinsius had pursued the policy of William III. without the foresight and lofty views of William III.; he had not seen his way in 1709 to shaking off the yoke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene in order to take the initiative in a peace necessary for Europe; in 1712, he submitted to the will of Harley and St. John, thus losing the advantages of the powerful mediatorial position which the United Provinces had owed to the eminent men successively intrusted with their government. Henceforth Holland remained a free and prosperous country, respected and worthy of her independence, but her political influence and importance in Europe were an end.

Holland snubbed.

The battle of Denain and its happy consequences hastened the conclusion of the negotiations; the German princes began to spli

up; the King of Prussia, Frederic William I., who had recently succeeded his father, was the first to escape from the Emperor's yoke. Lord Bolingbroke put the finishing stroke, at Versailles, to the conditions of a general peace; the month of April was the extreme limit fixed by England for her allies; on the 11th, peace was signed between France, England, the United Provinces, Portugal, the King of Prussia, and the Duke of Savoy. Louis XIV. recovered Lille, Aire, Béthune, and St. Venant; he strengthened with a few places the barrier of the Hollanders; he likewise granted to the Duke of Savoy a barrier on the Italian slope of the Alps; he recognized Queen Anne, at the same time exiling from France the Pretender, James III., whom he had but lately proclaimed with so much flourish of trumpets; and he razed the fortifications of Dunkerque. England kept Gibraltar and Minorca; Sicily was assigned to the Duke of Savoy. France recognized the King of Prussia. The peace was an honorable and an unexpected one, after so many disasters; the King of Spain held out for some time; he wanted to set up an independent principality for the Princess des Ursins, *camerera mayor* to the Queen, his wife, an able, courageous, and clever intriguer, all-powerful at court, who had done good service to the interests of France; he could not obtain any dismemberment of the United Provinces; and at last Philip V., in his turn,

Peace is signed.

Terms of the Treaty.

signed. The Emperor and the Empire alone remained aloof from the general peace. War recommenced in Germany and on the Rhine. Villars carried Spires and Kaiserlautern. He laid siege to Landau. His lieutenants were uneasy. "Gentlemen," said Villars, "I have heard the Prince of Condé say that the enemy should be feared at a distance, and despised at close quarters." Landau capitulated on the 20th of August; on the 30th of September Villars entered Friburg; the citadel surrendered on the 13th of November; the imperialists began to make pacific overtures; the two generals, Villars and Prince Eugene, were charged with the negotiations.

War begins again.

"I arrived at Rastadt on the 26th of November in the afternoon," writes Villars in his *Mémoires,* "and the Prince of Savoy half an hour after me. The moment I knew he was in the courtyard, I went to the top of the steps to meet him, apologizing to him on the ground that a lame man could not go down; we embraced with the feelings of an old and true friendship which long wars and various engagements had not altered." The two plenipotentiaries were headstrong in their discussions. "If we begin war again," said Villars, "where will you find money?" "It is true that we haven't any," rejoined the Prince "but there is still some in the Empire." "Poor States of the Empire!" I exclaimed; "your advice is not asked about beginning the dance

Meeting of Villars and Eugene.

yet you must, of course, follow the leaders." Peace was at last signed, on the 6th of March, 1714: France kept Landau and Fort Louis; she restored Spires, Breisach, and Friburg. The Emperor refused to recognize Philip V., but he accepted the *status quo;* the crown of Spain remained definitively with the house of Bourbon; it had cost men and millions enough; for an instant the very foundations of order in Europe had seemed to be upset; the old French monarchy had been threatened; it had recovered of itself and by its own resources, sustaining single-handed the struggle which was pulling down all Europe in coalition against it; it had obtained conditions which restored its frontiers to the limits of the peace of Ryswick; but it was exhausted, gasping at its wits' end for men and money; absolute power had obtained from national pride the last possible efforts, but it had played itself out in the struggle; the confidence of the country was shaken; it had been seen what dangers the will of a single man had made the nation incur; the tempest was already gathering within men's souls. The habit of respect, the memory of past glories, the personal majesty of Louis XIV. still kept up about the aged King the deceitful appearances of uncontested power and sovereign authority; the long decadence of his great-grandson's reign was destined to complete its ruin.

Spain remains with the Bourbons.

Deceitful appearances.

[In 1714, France and the Emperor make peace at Rastadt, by which the Emperor receives the Spanish dominions of Naples, the Milanese Sardinia, Mantua and Breisach. France gives up all territory east of the Rhine; but the Emperor does not recognize Philip V. as King of Spain. By another treaty with Bavaria, France promises to support the Elector should he become a candidate for the Empire. The Duke of Berwick storms Barcelona. Alberoni becomes the chief minister of Spain. Charles XII. returns home from Turkey and an alliance is formed against him by Prussia, Saxony, Denmark and Russia. In 1715, Louis XIV. dies. His will is set aside and the Duke of Orleans becomes Regent. The Danes, by selling the Duchies of Bremen and Verden to Hanover, gain it as an ally against Sweden. The Venetians are driven out of the Morea by the Turks. By the Barrier Treaty the Emperor receives the Spanish Netherlands. The Old Pretender orders the Earl of Mar to start a rebellion in his interests in Scotland.]

Death of Louis XIV.

THE FIRST JACOBITE REBELLION

(A.D. 1715)

TOBIAS SMOLLETT

BY this time the rebellion was actually begun in Scotland. The dissensions occasioned in that country by the union had never been wholly appeased. Even since the Queen's death, addresses were prepared in different parts of Scotland against the union, which was deemed a national grievance; and the Jacobites did not fail to encourage this aversion. Though the hopes of dissolving that treaty were baffled by the industry and other arts of the revolutioners, who secured a majority of Whigs in Parliament, they did not lay aside their designs of attempting something of consequence in favor of the Pretender; but maintained a correspondence with the malcontents of England, a great number of whom were driven by apprehension, hard usage, and resentment, into a system of politics, which otherwise they would not have espoused. The Tories, finding themselves totally excluded from any share in the government and legislature and exposed to the insolence and fury of

Unpopularity of the Union.

Intrigues of the Jacobites.

a faction which they despised, began to wish in earnest for a revolution. Some of them held private consultations, and communicated with the Jacobites, who conveyed their sentiments to the Chevalier de St. George, with such exaggerations as were dictated by their own eagerness and extravagance. They assured the Pretender that the nation was wholly disaffected to the new government; and, indeed, the clamors, tumults, and conversation of the people in general countenanced this assertion. They promised to take arms, without further delay, in his favor; and engaged that the Tories should join them at his first landing in Great Britain. They, therefore, besought him to come over with all possible expedition, declaring that his appearance would produce an immediate revolution. The Chevalier resolved to take the advantage of this favorable disposition. He had recourse to the French King, who had always been the refuge of his family.

Louis helps the Pretender.

Louis favored him in secret; and, notwithstanding his late engagements with England, cherished the ambition of raising him to the throne of Great Britain. He supplied him privately with sums of money, to prepare a small armament in the port of Havre, which was equipped in the name of Depine d'Anicaut; and, without all doubt, his design was to assist him more effectually, in proportion as the English should manifest their attachment to the house of Stuart. The Duke of Ormond

and Lord Bolingbroke, who had retired to France, finding themselves condemned unheard, and attainted, engaged in the service of the Chevalier, and corresponded with the Tories of England.

All these intrigues and machinations were discovered and communicated to the court of London by the Earl of Stair, who then resided as English ambassador at Paris. He detected the Chevalier's scheme while it was yet in embryo, and gave such early notice of it as enabled the King of Great Britain to take effectual measures for defeating the design. All the Pretender's interest in France expired with Louis XIV. At his death, which happened on the first day of September, the Regency of the kingdom devolved to the Duke of Orleans, who adopted a new system of politics, and had already entered into engagements with the King of Great Britain. Instead of assisting the Pretender, he amused his agents with mysterious and equivocal expressions, calculated to frustrate the design of the expedition. Nevertheless, the more violent part of the Jacobites in Great Britain believed he was at bottom a friend to their cause, and depended upon him for succor. They even extorted from him a sum of money by dint of importunities, and some arms; but the vessel was shipwrecked, and the cargo lost upon the coast of Scotland.

Lord Stair's vigilance.

Death of Louis XIV.

The partisans of the Pretender had pro-

ceeded too far to retreat with safety; and, therefore, resolved to try their fortune in the field. The Earl of Mar repaired to the Highlands, where he held consultations with the Marquises of Huntley and Tullibardine, the Earls Marischal and Southesk, the generals Hamilton and Gordon, with the chiefs of the Jacobite clans. Then he assembled three hundred of his own vassals; proclaiming the Pretender at Castletown, and set up his standard at Brae-Mar on the 6th day of September. By this time the Earls of Home, Wintoun, and Kinnoul, Lord Deskford, and Lockhart of Carnwath, with other persons suspected of disaffection to the present government, were committed prisoners to the castle of Edinburgh; and Major-General Whetham marched with the regular troops which were in that kingdom to secure the bridge at Stirling. Before these precautions were taken, two vessels had arrived at Arbroath from Havre, with arms, ammunition, and a great number of officers, who assured the Earl of Mar that the Pretender would soon be with them in person. The death of Louis XIV. struck a general damp upon their spirits; but they laid their account with being joined by a powerful body in England. The Earl of Mar, by letters and messages, pressed the Chevalier to come over without further delay. He, in the meantime, assumed the title of lieutenant-general of the Pretender's forces, and published a declara-

Mar sets up the Pretender's standard.

Arrival of French aid.

tion exhorting the people to take arms for their lawful sovereign. This was followed by a shrewd manifesto, explaining the national grievances, and assuring the people of redress. Some of his partisans attempted to surprise the castle of Edinburgh; but were prevented by the vigilance and activity of Colonel Stuart, lieutenant-governor of that fortress. The Duke of Argyle set out for Scotland, as commander-in-chief of the forces in North Britain.

Mar's manifesto.

In England, the practices of the Jacobites did not escape the notice of the ministry. Lieutenant-Colonel Paul was imprisoned in the gate-house for enlisting men in the service of the Pretender. The titular Duke of Powis was committed to the Tower: Lords Lansdowne and Duplin were taken into custody; and a warrant was issued for apprehending the Earl of Jersey. The King desired the consent of the Lower House to seize and detain Sir William Wyndham, Sir John Packington, Mr. Edward Harvey of Combe, Mr. Thomas Forster, Mr. John Anstis, and Mr. Corbet Kynaston, who were members of the House, and suspected of favoring the invasion. The Commons unanimously agreed to the proposal, and presented an address, signifying their approbation. Harvey and Anstis were immediately secured. Forster, with the assistance of some popish lords, assembled a body of men in Northumberland: Sir John Packington be-

Arrests in England.

Loyalty of the Commons.

ing examined before the council, was dismissed for want of evidence: Mr. Kynaston absconded: Sir William Wyndham was seized at his own house in Somersetshire, by Colonel Huske and a messenger, who secured his papers: he found means, however, to escape from them; but afterward surrendered himself, and, having been examined at the council-board, was committed to the Tower. His father-in-law, the Duke of Somerset, offered to become bound for his appearance; and being rejected as bail, expressed his resentment so warmly, that the King thought proper to remove him from the office of Master of the Horse.

Jacobites in the West.

The friends of the house of Stuart were very numerous in the western counties, and began to make preparations for an insurrection. They had concealed some arms and artillery at Bath, and formed a design to surprise Bristol; but they were betrayed and discovered by the emissaries of the Government, which baffled all their schemes, and apprehended every person of consequence suspected of attachment to that cause. The University of Oxford felt the rod of power on that occasion. Major-General Pepper, with a strong detachment of dragoons, took possession of the city at daybreak, declaring he would use military execution on all students who should presume to appear without the limits of their respective colleges; and Handasyde's regiment of foot was afterward quartered in Oxford, to over-

Dragoons at Oxford.

awe the university. The ministry found it more difficult to suppress the insurgents in the northern counties. In the month of October, the Earl of Derwentwater and Mr. Forster took the field with a body of horse, and, being joined by some gentlemen from the borders of Scotland, proclaimed the Pretender in Warkworth, Morpeth, and Alnwick. The first design was to seize the town of Newcastle, in which they had many friends; but they found the gates shut upon them, and retired to Hexham; while General Carpenter, having assembled a body of dragoons, resolved to march from Newcastle, and attack them before they should be reinforced. The rebels retiring northward to Woller, were joined by two hundred Scottish horse under the Lord Viscount Kenmuir, and the Earls of Carnwath and Wintoun, who had set up the Pretender's standard at Moffat, and proclaimed him in different parts of Scotland. The rebels thus reinforced advanced to Kelso, having received advice that they would be joined by Mackintosh, who had crossed the Forth with a body of Highlanders.

Progress in the North.

By this time the Earl of Mar was at the head of ten thousand men well armed. He had secured the pass of the Tay at Perth, where his headquarters were established, and made himself master of the whole fruitful province of Fife, and all the seacoast on that side of the Frith of Edinburgh. He selected

Mar's position.

two thousand five hundred men, commanded by Brigadier Mackintosh, to make a descent upon the Lothian side, and join the Jacobites in that county. Boats were assembled for this purpose; and, notwithstanding all the precautions that could be taken by the King's ships in the Frith to prevent the design, above fifteen hundred chosen men made good their passage in the night, and landed on the coast of Lothian, having crossed an arm of the sea about sixteen miles broad, in open boats, that passed through the midst of the King's cruisers. The Earl of Mar, in the meantime, marched from Perth to Dumblane, as if he had intended to cross the Forth at Stirling-bridge; but his real design was to divert the Duke of Argyle from attacking his detachment which had landed in Lothian. So far the scheme succeeded. The Duke, who had assembled some troops in Lothian, returned to Stirling with the utmost expedition, after having secured Edinburgh and obliged Mackintosh to abandon his design on that city. This partisan had actually taken possession of Leith, from whence he retired to Seaton-house, near Preston-pans, which he fortified in such a manner that he could not be forced without artillery. Here he remained until he received an order across the Frith, from the Earl of Mar, to join Lord Kenmuir and the English at Kelso, for which place he immediately began his march, and reached it on the 22d day

Invasion of Lothian.

of October, though a good number of his men had deserted on the route.

The Lord Kenmuir, with the Earls of Wintoun, Nithsdale, and Carnwath, the Earl of Derwentwater, and Mr. Forster, with the English insurgents, arriving at the same time, a council of war was immediately called. They took the route to Jedburgh, where they resolved to leave Carpenter on one side, and penetrate into England by the western border. The Highlanders declared they would not quit their own country; means, however, were found to prevail upon one-half of them to advance, while the rest returned to the Highlands. At Brampton, Forster opened his commission of general, and proclaimed the Pretender. They continued their march to Penrith, where the sheriff, with Lord Lonsdale and the Bishop of Carlisle, had assembled the whole posse-comitatus of Cumberland, amounting to twelve thousand men, who dispersed with the utmost precipitation at the approach of the rebels. From Penrith, Forster proceeded by the way of Kendal and Lancaster to Preston, from whence Stanhope's regiment of dragoons, and another of militia, immediately retired; so that he took possession of the place without resistance. General Willis marched against the enemy with six regiments of horse and dragoons, and one battalion of foot commanded by Colonel Preston. They had advanced to the bridge of Ribble

The Council of War.

Forster reaches Preston.

before Forster received intelligence of their approach. He forthwith began to raise barricadoes, and put the place in a posture of defence. On the 12th day of November, the town was briskly attacked in two different places; but the King's troops met with a very warm reception, and were repulsed with considerable loss. Next day General Carpenter arrived with a reinforcement of three regiments of dragoons; and the rebels were invested on all sides. The Highlanders declared they would make a sally sword in hand, and either cut their way through the King's troops, or perish in the attempt; but they were overruled. Forster sent Colonel Oxburgh with a trumpet to General Willis, to propose a capitulation. The Scottish noblemen persuaded the Highlanders to accept the terms that were offered. They accordingly laid down their arms, and were put under a strong guard. All the noblemen and leaders were secured. Major Nairn, Captain Lockhart, Captain Shaftoe, and Ensign Erskine, were tried by a court-martial, as deserters, and executed. Lord Charles Murray, son of the Duke of Athol, was likewise condemned for the same crime, but reprieved. The common men were imprisoned at Chester and Liverpool, the noblemen and considerable officers were sent to London, conveyed through the streets pinioned like malefactors, and committed to the Tower and Newgate.

The Highlanders capitulate.

The day on which the rebels surrendered at Preston was remarkable for the battle of Dumblane, fought between the Duke of Argyle and the Earl of Mar. This nobleman had retreated to his camp at Perth, when he understood the Duke was returned from Lothian to Stirling. But being now joined by the northern clans commanded by the Earl of Seaforth, and those of the west under General Gordon, who had signalized himself in the service of the Czar of Muscovy, he resolved to pass the Forth, in order to join his southern friends, that they might march together in England. The Duke of Argyle, apprised of his intention, and being joined by some regiments of dragoons, from Ireland, determined to give him battle in the neighborhood of Dumblane. On the twelfth day of the month, Argyle passed the Forth at Stirling, and encamped with his left at the village of Dumblane, and his right toward Sheriffmoor. The Earl of Mar advanced within two miles of his camp, and remained till daybreak in order of battle; his army consisting of nine thousand effective men, cavalry as well as infantry. In the morning, the Duke, understanding they were in motion, drew up his forces, which did not exceed three thousand five hundred men, on the heights to the northeast of Dumblane; but he was outflanked both on the right and left. The clans that formed part of the centre and right wing of the enemy,

Battle of Dumblane.

Argyle passes the Forth.

Charge of the Clans.

with Glengary and Clanronald at their head, charged the left of the King's army sword in hand, with such impetuosity, that in seven minutes both horse and foot were totally routed with great slaughter; and General Whetham, who commanded them, fled at full gallop to Stirling, where he declared that the royal army was totally defeated. In the meantime, the Duke of Argyle, who commanded in person on the right, attacked the left of the enemy, at the head of Stair's and Evans's dragoons, and drove them two miles before him, as far as the water of Allan; yet in that space they wheeled about, and attempted to rally ten times; so that he was obliged to press them hard, that they might not recover from their confusion. Brigadier Wightman followed, in order to sustain him, with three battalions of infantry; while the victorious right wing of the rebels having pursued Whetham a considerable way, returned to the field, and formed in the rear of Wightman, to the amount of five thousand men. The Duke of Argyle, returning from the pursuit, joined Wightman, who had faced about, and taken possession of some inclosures and mud walls, in expectation of being attacked. In this posture both armies fronted each other till the evening, when the Duke drew off toward Dumblane, and the rebels retired to Ardoch, without mutual molestation. Next day the Duke, marching back to the field of battle,

Both armies retire.

carried off the wounded, with four pieces of cannon left by the army, and retreated to Stirling. Few prisoners were taken on either side: the number of the slain might be about five hundred of each army, and both generals claimed the victory. The Marquis of Huntley and the Earl of Seaforth were obliged to quit the rebel army, in order to defend their own territories; and in a little time submitted to King George: a good number of the Frazers declared with their chief against the Pretender: the Marquis of Tullibardine withdrew from the army, to cover his own country: and the clans, seeing no likelihood of another action, began to disperse, according to custom.

Argyle retreats to Stirling.

Dispersal of the clans.

The government was now in a condition to send strong reinforcements to Scotland. Six thousand men that were claimed of the States-General, by virtue of the treaty, landed in England, and began their march for Edinburgh: General Cadogan set out for the same place, together with Brigadier Petit, and six other engineers; and a train of artillery was shipped at the Tower for that country, the Duke of Argyle resolving to drive the Earl of Mar out of Perth, to which town he had retired with the remains of his forces. The Pretender having been amused with the hope of seeing the whole kingdom of England rise up as one man in his behalf, and the Duke of Ormond having made a fruitless voyage to the western coast, to try the disposition of the peo-

The Pretender arrives in Scotland.

ple, he was now convinced of the vanity of his expectation in that quarter; and, as he knew not what other course to take, he resolved to hazard his person among his friends in Scotland, at a time when his affairs in that kingdom were absolutely desperate. From Bretagne he posted through part of France in disguise, and embarking in a small vessel at Dunkirk, hired for that purpose, arrived on the 22d day of December at Peterhead with six gentlemen in his retinue, one of whom was the Marquis of Tinmouth, son to the Duke of Berwick. He passed through Aberdeen, incognito, to Feterosse, where he was met by the Earls of Mar and Marischal, and about thirty noblemen and gentlemen of the first quality. Here he was solemnly proclaimed: his declaration, dated at Commercy, was printed and circulated through all the parts of that neighborhood; and he received addresses from the Episcopal clergy, and the laity of that communion in the diocese of Aberdeen. On the 5th day of January, he made his public entry into Dundee; and on the seventh arrived at Scone, where he seemed determined to stay until the ceremony of his coronation should be performed. From thence he made an excursion to Perth, where he reviewed his forces. Then he formed a regular council; and published six proclamations. He made a pathetic speech in a grand council, at which all the chiefs of his party assisted. They determined.

His proclamation.

however, to abandon the enterprise, as the King's army was reinforced by the Dutch auxiliaries, and they themselves were not only reduced to a small number, but likewise destitute of money, arms, ammunition, forage, and provision; for the Duke of Argyle had taken possession of Burnt-Island, and transported a detachment to Fife, so as to cut off Mar's communication with that fertile country.

Destitution of his forces.

Notwithstanding the great severity of the weather, and a prodigious fall of snow, which rendered the roads almost impassable, the Duke, on the 29th of January, began his march to Dumblane, and next day reached Tullibardine, where he received intelligence that the Pretender and his forces had, on the preceding day, retired toward Dundee. He forthwith took possession of Perth; and then began his march to Aberbrothick, in pursuit of the enemy. The Chevalier de St. George, being thus hotly pursued, was prevailed upon to embark on board a small French ship that lay in the harbor of Montrose. He was accompanied by the Earls of Mar and Melfort, the Lord Drummond, Lieutenant-General Bulkley, and other persons of distinction, to the number of seventeen. In order to avoid the nglish cruisers, they stretched over to Nor- ray, and coasting along the German and utch shores, arrived in five days at Grave- ne. General Gordon, whom the Pretender ad left commander-in-chief of the forces, as-

The Pretender returns to France.

sisted by the Earl Marischal, proceeded with them to Aberdeen, where he secured three vessels to sail northward, and take on board the persons who intended to make their escape to the Continent. Then they continued their march through Strathspey and Strathdown, to the hills of Badenoch, where the common people were quietly dismissed. This retreat was made with such expedition that the Duke of Argyle, with all his activity, could never overtake their rearguard, which consisted of a thousand horse, commanded by the Earl Marischal. Such was the issue of a rebellion that proved fatal to many noble families; a rebellion which, in all probability, would never have happened, had not the violent measures of a Whig ministry kindled such a flame of discontent in the nation as encouraged the partisans of the Pretender to hazard a revolt.

Dismissal of the army.

[In 1716, by the treaty of Hanover, England promises to support the claims of the Regent if the infant Louis XV. dies; the Regent also promises to support the Protestant succession. The Turks lose their last foothold in Hungary. In 1717, John Law forms the Mississippi Company and is appointed Minister of Finance. Prince Eugene destroys a Turkish army and captures Belgrade. In 1718, Charles XII. is killed at Friedrichshall, just as he has entered into an alliance with

Belgrade captured.

Russia for the recovery of her German possessions and the expulsion of George I. from the British throne. New Orleans is founded by the French, and Pensacola by the Spaniards. Austria is left in possession of Hungary by the peace of Passarowitz, by which the Turks also give up Belgrade and parts of Servia, Bosnia and Wallachia. The Sultan consents to desert Rakoksy. In 1719, Philip V. of Spain is forced by the allies to dismiss his great minister. In 1720, Law's great financial schemes fail and he is exiled. The Emperor being without male heirs, publishes the Pragmatic Sanction, which the Empire accepts and proclaims law in 1724. Prussia reaches the Baltic by the acquisition of Stettin and neighboring territory. The mania for speculation spreads to England.]

New Orleans founded.

The Pragmatic Sanction.

THE SOUTH SEA BUBBLE

(A.D. 1720)

CHARLES KNIGHT

THE great event of the sixth year of the reign of George I. was the exciting affair of the South Sea scheme—an event upon which, after the lapse of a hundred and forty years, we may still look with greater interest than upon the treaties and the wars of which it is said, with some truth, that they are to us as the "mere bubblings up of the general putrid fermentation of the then political world."

The South Sea Scheme

In the infant days of the National Debt the great terror of statesmen was its increase and duration. At the accession of Queen Anne, the debt amounted to sixteen millions; at her death it had reached fifty-two millions. In 1711, there was a floating debt of about ten millions. Harley, then Lord Treasurer, proposed to create a fund for that sum; and to secure the payment of interest, by making certain duties of customs permanent. Capitalists who held debentures were to become shareholders in a company incorporated for the

The National Debt.

purpose of carrying on a monopoly of trade to the Spanish coasts of South America; making the new fund a part of their capital stock. Thus was established the South Sea Company. When the Peace of Utrecht was complete, Spain refused to permit any approach to the free trade which would have made such a commercial company of value. One ship only was allowed to be sent annually. A few factories were established, and the one ship sailed in 1717. Alberoni broke the treaty, and seized the British goods. But the company had other means for the employment of capital; and many opulent persons were among its shareholders and directors.

The South Sea Company.

At the opening of the Parliament in November, 1719, the King said to the Commons: "I must desire you to turn your thoughts to all proper means for lessening the debts of the nation." In January, 1720, a proposal was read to the House of Commons from the South Sea Company, in which it was set forth that if certain public debts and annuities were made part of the capital stock of the Company, it would greatly contribute to that most desirable end adverted to in his Majesty's speech. Before that speech was delivered, Sir John Blunt, a South Sea director, had been in communication with the ministers, who gave a favorable ear to his projects. There was an annual charge upon the revenue of eight hundred thousand pounds, for irredeemable an-

Sir John Blunt's project.

nuities granted in the reigns of William and Anne. To buy up these annuities was the advantageous point in the proposal of the Company. The House of Commons agreed in the necessity of reducing the public debts. "Till this was done," said Mr. Brodrick, who moved that other Companies should be allowed to compete, "we could not, properly speaking, call ourselves a nation." The Bank of England accordingly sent in a rival proposal; and the two Companies went on outbidding each other, till the South Sea Company's large offer to provide seven millions and a half to buy up the annuities was accepted. The annuitants were not compelled to exchange their government security for the Company's stock; and the chief doubt seemed to be whether the greater number would consent to this transfer. Although the terms offered by the Company to the annuitants were not encouraging, there was a rush to accept them. To hold stock in a Company whose exclusive trading privileges might realize that "potentiality of wealth" which is never "beyond the dreams of avarice," was a far grander thing than to receive seven, eight, or even nine per cent, upon annuities. Within six days of the announcement of the Company's terms, two-thirds of the annuitants had exchanged their certain income for the boundless imaginary riches of South America.

The Bank of England's rival proposals.

Upon this foundation was built the most

enormous fabric of national delusion that was ever raised among an industrious, thrifty, and prudent people. It had been long manifest that there was a great amount of superfluous capital, especially of the hoardings of the middle classes, which wanted opportunities for employment. To obtain interest for small sums was scarcely practicable for the mass of those who were enabled to keep their expenditure below their incomes. Before the beginning of the century, companies, more or less safe, had been formed to meet this desire for investments. In spite of the long wars of the reigns of William and Anne, and the Jacobite plots and rebellions which threatened the Protestant succession, the country was going steadily forward in a course of prosperity. Wherever there is superfluous wealth, beyond the ordinary demands of industry for capital, there will be always projectors ready to suggest modes for its co-operative uses. There was then to be seen the magnificent list of noble names, such as continue to attract the unwary to have confidence in some board where very few know the secret transactions. Even the Prince of Wales was then the Governor of a Welsh Copper Company. But it seems to us that the belief of all the schemes of that scheming time being fraudulent and delusive is a mistake. Many of these schemes might be premature; and having chiefly in view the profit to be made by the rise of shares,

Public infatuation.

National prosperity.

"Bubbles" of the day.

might be called "Bubbles." But it is scarcely reasonable to class the following projects among the ridiculous schemes of that gambling time: For improving alum works; for paving the streets of London; for supplying various towns with water; for improving the art of making soap; for improving the paper manufacture; for making iron with pit coal; for extracting silver from lead. It had been justly said by a writer who decried, in 1695, "many pernicious projects now on foot," that "some were very useful and successful while they continued in a few hands, till they fell into stock-jobbing, now much introduced, when they dwindled to nothing: others of them were mere whims, of little or no service to the world." Such, no doubt, was the general character of the manifold projects of 1720. In the summer of that year, the South Sea year, "the dog-star raged" over Exchange Alley with a fury that had never been equalled; because no capitalist, even to the possessor of a single shilling, was then too humble not to believe that the road to riches was open before him. Subscribers to projects recommended by "one or more persons of known credit," were only required to advance ten shillings per cent. A shilling, and even sixpence per cent, was enough to secure the receipt for a share in the more doubtful undertakings. Shares of every sort were at a premium, unless in cases where the office that was opened at

The road to riches.

noon on one day was found closed on the next, and the shillings and sixpences had vanished with the subscription books. But the great impulse to the frantic stock-jobbing of that summer was the sudden and enormous rise in the value of South Sea stock. In July, Secretary Craggs wrote to Earl Stanhope, who was abroad with the King, "It is impossible to tell you what a rage prevails here for South Sea subscriptions at any price. The crowds of those that possess the redeemable annuities is so great that the Bank, who are obliged to take them in, has been forced to set tables with clerks in the streets." The hundred pound shares of the South Sea Company went up to a thousand pounds in August. The shares of the Bank of England and of the East India Company were transferred at an enormous advance. Smaller companies of every character — water-companies, fishery-companies, companies for various manufactures, companies for settlements and foreign trade—infinite varieties, down to companies for fatting hogs and importing jackasses from Spain—rushed into the market amid the universal cry for shares and more shares. The directors of the South Sea Company opened a second, a third, and a fourth subscription. They boldly proclaimed that after Christmas their annual dividend should not fall short of fifty per cent upon their £100 shares. The rivalry of the legion of projects of that season was

Mad rush for shares.

odious to these great lords of the money-market. The government itself began to think that some fearful end would come to the popular delusion; and a Royal Proclamation was issued against "mischievous and dangerous undertakings, especially the presuming to act as a corporate body, or raising stocks or shares without legal authority." It was calculated that the value of the stock of all the companies, with corporate authority or no authority, amounted at the current prices to five hundred millions sterling; being five times as much as the circulating medium of Europe, and twice as much as the fee simple of all the land of the kingdom. The attempt of the South Sea Company to lessen the number of their competitors was the prelude to their own fall. At their instance, writs of *scire facias* were issued, on the 18th of August, against four companies; and the subscribers to these, and to all other projects not legalized, were ordered to be prosecuted by the officers of the Crown. A panic ensued. In a day or two, the stocks of all the Companies not incorporated rapidly fell; and with the downward rush went down every description of stock. Before August, knowing and cautious holders of South Sea stock began to sell out. Walpole, who had originally opposed the scheme, did not carry his opposition to the extreme of neglecting his opportunity of largely adding to his fortune, by investing at

The Royal Proclamation.

The panic.

the proper time, and selling out at the proper time. The Earl of Pembroke applied to Walpole for his advice as to the great question of selling when the shares were at their culminating point. The adroit financier coolly answered: "I will only tell you what I have done myself. I have just sold out at 1,000 per cent, and I am fully satisfied." By the middle of September, holders of South Sea stock were crowding the Exchange, not as eager buyers, but as more eager sellers. The stock was at 850 on the 18th of August; in a month it had fallen to 410. Mr. Brodrick, on the 13th of September, writes, that the most considerable men of the Company, "with their fast friends, the Tories, Jacobites, and Papists," had drawn out; "securing themselves by the losses of the deluded thoughtless numbers, whose understandings were overruled by avarice, and hopes of making mountains of mole-hills. Thousands of families will be reduced to beggary. . . . The consternation is inexpressible; the rage beyond expression; and the case is so desperate that I do not see any plan or scheme for averting the blow." On the 29th of September, South Sea stock had fallen to 175. This greatest of bubbles had burst. Many persons of rank and station were not so prudent as Walpole and the Earl of Pembroke had been. The Duke of Portland, Lord Lonsdale, and Lord Irwin were provided with colonial governments to enable

Walpole's shrewdness

The bubble bursts.

them to live;—a species of consideration for ruined nobility which is rather in bad odor in our days. Merchants, lawyers, clergy, physicians, passed from their dream of fabulous wealth and from their wonted comforts into poverty; some "died of broken hearts; others withdrew to remote parts of the world, and never returned." It has been observed that "the calamitous effects of the madness were rather individual and immediate, than permanent or general. There was little, if any, absolute destruction of capital. The whole mischief consisted in a most quick and violent shifting of property from one hand to another." But the derangement of the ordinary course of industry was to be added to this shifting of property. Serious as was this temporary evil; furious as it made the sufferers in their reproaches against every one but themselves; eager as it rendered the legislature for confiscation of the property of the South Sea Directors, the national credit was not permanently impaired by the infatuation which produced so much private misery. In this respect, the issue of the South Sea scheme was essentially different from the Mississippi scheme of John Law in France, which also exploded in that fatal year for projectors; producing there what was equivalent to a national bankruptcy. When the South Sea crash came, there was alarm for its public consequences. But Walpole, who had again joined the gov-

Terrible results.

Misery private, not national.

ernment, though in a subordinate office, applied his great financial abilities to avert the difficulties which this convulsion might occasion to the State; and instead of joining the first cry for vengeance upon the South Sea Directors, he calmly said in Parliament, that if London were on fire, wise men would endeavor to extinguish the flames before they sought for the incendiaries. When the King opened the session on the 8th of December, the royal speech recommended measures "to restore the national credit." Walpole was regarded by all parties as the man to effect this.

Investigations in the Commons.

The Commons, through the entire session, were occupied with investigations and discussions connected with the financial convulsion. The private estates of the directors were to be regarded as a fund to provide some remedy for the public embarrassment. A bill was passed, to compel them to deliver, on oath, an estimate of the value of their property, and to prevent their going out of the kingdom. A secret Committee of Inquiry was appointed. After they had examined Mr. Robert Knight, the cashier of the Company, he fled to Brabant. A reward of £2,000 was offered for his apprehension; but it was believed that there were influences at work powerful enough to screen him. Knight was arrested at Antwerp; but the States of Brabant refused to give him up. "Screen" became a bye-word.

Flight of the Cashier.

"The Screen."

Caricatures—which it is said were become common at this period for political objects—had for their point the Duchess of Kendal and the flight of the cashier. "The Brabant Screen" exhibited the King's mistress sending Knight upon his travels, giving him his despatches from behind a screen. The prudent cashier took care to obliterate, as far as possible, the evidence that great ladies and ministers of state had been corrupted by the South Sea Directors. The Committee of the Commons reported that "in some of the books produced before them, false and fictitious entries were made; in others, entries with blanks; in others, entries with erasures and alterations; and in others, leaves were torn out." They found, further, that some books had been destroyed, and others taken away or secreted. Out of the mouths of the directors the committee extracted evidence to show that there had been extensive appropriation of stock to "certain ladies," at the instance of Mr. Secretary Craggs; and the proof was clear that persons high in office had received and held stock during the time that the Company's bill was depending in Parliament, "without any valuable consideration paid, or sufficient security given for the acceptance of, or payment for, such stock." Nevertheless, Charles Stanhope, one of the accused, was cleared by a majority of three. The Earl of Sunderland was exonerated by a larger majority; but he

Corrupt practices.

could not stand up against the popular odium, and resigned his post of first Commissioner of the Treasury. Aislabie, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, was expelled the House, and was sent to the Tower. James Craggs died of small-pox during the heat of this inquiry. His father, the Postmaster-General, destroyed himself by poison.

Suicide of Craggs.

The charges against the directors were founded upon their practice of "selling their own stock at high prices, at the same time that they gave orders for buying stock upon account of the Company;" and upon their various contrivances "to give his majesty's subjects false notions of the value" of the South Sea stock. The punishment, under the bill that was passed, was severe. Their estates, amounting to two millions sterling, were confiscated for the relief of the sufferers by their schemes. A small allowance was made to each; but they were disabled from ever holding any place, or for sitting in Parliament. Such visitations for their offences were thought far too lenient by the greater number of their contemporaries. They may now be considered excessive.

[In 1721, the Holy Synod is appointed as ruler of the Church under the Czar in place of the Patriarchate of Moscow. France, England and Spain form a defensive alliance. The treaty of Nystad between Russia and Sweden

finally confirms Russia's supremacy. France occupies Mauritius, which was deserted by Holland in 1712. Lady M. W. Montagu introduces inoculation for small-pox into England. In 1722, the Emperor, in opposition to England, forms an East India Company at Ostend. The Czar executes his son, Alexis, for opposing his policy. In 1723, the Regent and his minister, Dubois, die, and the King's minority ends. In 1724, Philip V. resigns his throne, but, on the death of his son, resumes it at his wife's exhortation. In 1725, Louis XV. dismisses his betrothed, the Spanish Infanta, and marries Marie Leczynski of Poland; outraged Spain forms an alliance with the Emperor. Russia and other German States join. To counterbalance this alliance, England, France and Prussia form a confederacy, afterward joined by Sweden, Denmark and Holland. Peter the Great dies and is succeeded by his wife. Bering Straits are discovered by a Dane named Bering. In 1726, Russia and Austria form a treaty of alliance for thirty years for offence against the Turks and defence against other Powers. In 1729, Philip V. deserts Austria and joins France and England by the treaty of Seville. The proprietors of Carolina sell their titles, and the colony is divided into North and South Carolina under Royal Government. In 1731, England acknowledges the Pragmatic Sanction, on condition that Maria

Inoculation for small-pox introduced into England.

Death of Peter the Great.

Theresa shall not marry a Bourbon. Hadley invents the quadrant for naval use. The *Gentleman's Magazine* is founded. In 1732, the German States, with the exception of the Palatinate, Saxony, and Bavaria, accept the Pragmatic Sanction. The State of Georgia is founded. In 1733, the secret treaty of the Escurial establishes a family compact between France and Spain. In 1735, Labourdonnais establishes the sugar industry in Mauritius and Réunion. In 1736, the Porteous riots disturb Edinburgh and reveal hostility to the English government. The Czarina Anne declares war against Turkey and seizes Azov. Austria sends an army to help Russia under a Protestant named Seckendorf. The explorations of Herculaneum, which was discovered in 1711, are begun. In 1737, the War of the Polish Succession ends. Seckendorf is disgraced after the Austrians have been defeated. The Czarina Anne obtains Courland for Biron.]

Gentleman's Magazine founded.

Explorations of Herculaneum begun.

THE AUSTRO-RUSSIAN ATTACK ON TURKEY

(A.D. 1737—1739)

THOMAS CARLYLE

FROM the Eastern regions our newspapers are very full of events: war with the Turk going on there; Russia and Austria both doing their best against the Turk. The Russians had hardly finished their Polish-election fighting, when they decided to have a stroke at the Turk,—Turk always an especial eye-sorrow to them, since that "Treaty of the Pruth," and Czar Peter's sad rebuff there: Münnich marched direct out of Poland through the Ukraine, with his eye on the Crimea and furious business in that quarter. This is his second campaign there, this of 1737; and furious business had not failed. Last year he stormed the Lines of Perecop, tore open the Crimea; took Azoph, he, or Lacy under him; took many things; this year he laid his plans for Oczakow;—takes Oczakow,—fiery event, blazing in all the newspapers at Reinsberg and elsewhere. Concerning which will the reader accept this condensed testimony by an eye-witness?

Münnich's campaigns.

(1872)

"*Oczakow,* 13th July, 1737. Day before yesterday, Feldmarschall Münnich got to Oczakow, as he had planned,"—strong Turkish town in the nook between the Black Sea and the estuary of the Dnieper;—"with intention to besiege it. Siege train, stores of every sort, which he had set afloat upon the Dnieper in time enough, were to have been ready for him at Oczakow. But the flotilla had been detained by shallows, by waterfalls; not a boat was come, nor could anybody say when they were coming. Meanwhile, nothing is to be had here; the very face of the earth the Turks have burnt: not a blade of grass for cavalry within eight miles, nor a stick of wood for engineers; nor a hole for covert, and the ground so hard you can not raise redoubts on it:—Münnich perceives he must attempt, nevertheless. Report from Oczakow.

"On his right, by the seashore, Münnich finds some remains of gardens, palisades; scrapes together some vestige of shelter there (five thousand, or even ten thousand, pioneers working desperately all that first night, 11th July, with only half success); and on the morrow commences firing with what artillery he has. Much out-fired by the Turks inside;—his enterprise as good as desperate, unless the Dnieper flotilla come soon. July 12, all day the firing continues, and all night; Turks extremely furious: about an hour before daybreak, we notice burning in the interior, 'Some Desperate condition.

wooden houses kindled by us, the town got on fire yonder,'—and, praise to Heaven, they do not seem to succeed in quenching it again. Münnich turns out, in various divisions; intent on trying something, had he the least engineer furniture;—hopes desperately there may be promise for him in that internal burning still visible.

Keith's bravery.

"In the centre of Münnich's line is one General Keith, a deliberate, stalwart Scotch gentleman, whom we shall know better; Münnich himself is to the right: could not one try it by scalade; keep the internal burning free to spread, at any rate? 'Advance within musket-shot, General Keith!' orders Münnich's aide-de-camp, cantering up. 'I have been this good while within it,' answers Keith, pointing to his dead men. Aide-de-camp canters up a second time. 'Advance within half musket shot, General Keith, and quit any covert you have!' Keith does so; sends, with his respects to Feldmarschall Münnich, his remonstrance against such a waste of human life. Aide-de-camp canters up a third time: 'Feldmarschall Münnich is trying for a scalade; hopes General Keith will do his best to co-operate!' Forward, then!' answers Keith; advances close to the glacis; finds a wet ditch twelve feet broad, and has not a stick of engineer furniture. Keith waits there two hours; his men, under fire all the while, trying this and that to get across; Münnich's scalade going off ineffect-

ual in like manner:—till, at length, Keith's men, and all men, tire of such a business, and roll back in great confusion out of shot range. Münnich gives himself up for lost. And, indeed, says Mannstein, had the Turks sallied out in pursuit at that moment, they might have chased us back to Russia. But the Turks did not sally. And the internal conflagration is not quenched, far from it;—and about nine A.M. their Powder-Magazine, conflagration reaching it, roared aloft into the air, and killed seven thousand of them"—

So that Oczakow was taken, sure enough; terms, life only: and every remaining Turk packs off from it, some "twenty thousand inhabitants, young and old," for one sad item.—A very blazing, semi-absurd event, to be read of in Prussian military circles,—where General Keith will be better known one day. Oczakow captured.

Russian war with the Turk: that means withal, by old Treaties; aid of thirty thousand men from the Kaiser to Russia. Kaiser, so ruined lately, how can he send thirty thousand, and keep them recruited, in such distant expedition? Kaiser, much meditating, is advised it will be better to go frankly into the Turk on his own score, and try for slices of profit from him in this game. Kaiser declares war against the Turk; and what is still more interesting to Friedrich Wilhelm and the Berlin Circles, Seckendorf is named General of it. Feldzeugmeister now Feldmar- The Kaiser declares war against the Turk.

schall Seckendorf, envy may say what it will, he has marched this season into the Lower-Donau Countries,—going to besiege Widdin, they say,—at the head of a big Army (on paper, almost a hundred and fifty thousand, light troops and heavy)—virtually commander-in-chief; though nominally our fine young friend, Franz of Lorraine, bears the title of Commander, whom Seckendorf is going to dry nurse in the way sometimes practiced. Going to besiege Widdin, they say. So has the poor Kaiser been advised. His wise, old Eugene is now gone;* I fear his advisers,—a youngish Feldzeugmeister, Prince of Hildburghausen, the chief favorite among them, —are none of the wisest. All Protestants, we observe, these favorite Hildburghausens, Schmettaus, Seckendorfs of his; and Vienna is an orthodox Papal Court;—and there is a Hofkriegsrath (Supreme Council of War), which has ruined many a general, poking too meddlesomely into his affairs! On the whole, Seckendorf will have his difficulties. Here is a scene, on the Lower Donau, different enough from that at Oczakow, not far from contemporaneous with it. The Austrian Army is already at Kolitz, a march or two beyond Belgrad:

Seckendorf's difficulties.

"*Kolitz,* 2d July, 1737. This day, the army not being on march, but allowed to rest itself, Grand Duke Franz went into the woods to

Franz loses himself.

* Died April 30, 1736.

hunt. Hunting up and down, he lost himself; did not return at evening; and, as the night closed in and no generalissimo visible, the Generalissimo *ad Latus* (such the title they had contrived for Seckendorf) was in much alarm. Generalissimo *ad Latus* ordered out his whole force of drummers, trumpeters: to fling themselves, postwise, deeper and deeper into the woods all round; to drum there, and blow, in ever-widening circle, in prescribed notes, and with all energy till the Grand Duke were found. Grand Duke being found, Seckendorf remonstrated, rebuked; a thought too earnestly, some say, his temper being flurried,"—voice snuffling somewhere in alt, with lisp to help:—"so that the Grand Duke took offence; flung off in a huff; and always looked askance on the Feldmarschall from that time";—quitting him altogether before long; and marching with Khevenhüller, Wallis, Hildburghausen, or any of the subordinate generals rather. Probably Widdin will not go the road of Oczakow, nor the Austrians prosper like the Russians, this summer. His resentment.

Pöllnitz, in Tobacco-Parliament, and in certain Berlin circles foolishly agape about this new Feldmarschall, maintains always Seckendorf will come to nothing; which his Majesty zealously contradicts—his Majesty, and some short-sighted private individuals still favorable to Seckendorf. Exactly one week after that singular drum-and-trumpet

operation on Duke Franz, the last of the Medici dies at Florence; and Serene Fritz, if he knew it, is Grand Duke of Tuscany, according to bargain: a matter important to himself chiefly, and to France, who, for Stanislaus and Lorraine's sake, has had to pay him some 200,000 pounds a year during the brief intermediate state.

Turk war ends.

Last news come to Potsdam in these days is, The Kaiser has ended his disastrous Turk war; been obliged to end it; sudden downbreak having at last come upon his unfortunate generals in those parts. Duke Franz was passionate to be out of such a thing; Franz, General Neipperg and others; and now, "2d September, 1739," like lodgers leaping from a burning house, they are out of it. The Turk gets Belgrad itself, not to mention wide territories further east—Belgrad without shot fired;—nay, the Turk was hardly to be kept from Hanging the Imperial Messenger (a General Neipperg, Duke Franz's old Tutor, and chief Confidant, whom we shall hear more of elsewhere), whose passport was not quite right on this occasion!—Never was a more disgraceful Peace. But also never had been worse fighting; planless, changeful, powerless, melting into futility at every step:—not to be mended by imprisonments in Grätz, and still harsher treatment of individuals. "Has all success forsaken me, then, since Eugene died?" said the Kaiser; and snatched at this

Losses of the Kaiser.

Turk Peace; glad to have it, by mediation of France, and on any terms.

Had not this Kaiser lost his outlying properties at a fearful rate? Naples is gone; Spanish Bourbon sits in our Naples; comparatively little left for us in Italy. And now the very Turk has beaten us small; insolently fillips the imperial nose of us—threatening to hang our Neipperg, and the like. Were it not for Anne of Russia, whose big horsewhip falls heavy on this Turk, he might almost get to Vienna again, for anything we could do! A Kaiser worthy to be pitied;—whom Friedrich Wilhelm, we perceive, does honestly pity. A Kaiser much beggared, much disgraced in late years; who has played a huge life-game so long, diplomatizing, warring; and except the Shadow of Pragmatic Sanction, has nothing to retire upon.

Anne of Russia.

The Russians protested, with astonishment, against such Turk Peace on the Kaiser's part. But there was no help for it. Our ally is gone, the Kaiser has let go this Western skirt of the Turk; and Thamas Kouli Khan (called also Nadir Shah, famed Oriental slasher and slayer of that time) no longer stands upon the Eastern skirt, but "has entered India," it appears; the Russians—their cash, too, running low—do themselves make peace, "about a month after"; restoring Azoph and nearly all their conquests; putting off the ruin of the Turk till a better time.

The Russians make peace.

[In 1735, John Wesley goes to work in Georgia. He returns in 1738 and is converted by Peter Bohler, a Moravian. Whitefield undertakes a mission to America; and the next year his example of preaching in the open air is followed by John Wesley, who is consequently excluded from the majority of pulpits. In 1740, Wesley leaves the Moravians and in the next year employs lay preachers and builds chapels for them. In 1741, Whitefield returns from America; and the Moravians found Bethlehem and other colonies in Pennsylvania.]

Whitefield and Wesley.

THE RISE OF METHODISM AND THE NEW PHILANTHROPY

(A.D. 1738)

JOHN RICHARD GREEN

THE fall of Walpole revealed a change in the temper of England which was to influence from that time to this its social and political history. New forces, new cravings, new aims, which had been silently gathering beneath the crust of inaction, began at last to tell on the national life. The stir showed itself markedly in a religious revival which dates from the later years of Walpole's ministry. Never had religion seemed at a lower ebb. The progress of free inquiry, the aversion from theological strife which had been left by the civil wars, the new political and material channels opened to human energy, had produced a general indifference to all questions of religious speculation or religious life. A shrewd, if prejudiced, observer brands the English clergy of the day as the most lifeless in Europe, "the most remiss of their labors in private, and the least severe in their lives." There was a revolt against re-

The Church and the Georges.

ligion and against churches in both the extremes of English society. In the higher circles of society "every one laughs," said Montesquieu on his visit to England, "if one talks of religion." Of the prominent statesmen of the time the greater part were unbelievers in any form of Christianity, and distinguished for the grossness and immorality of their lives. The rural peasantry, who were fast being reduced to pauperism by the abuse of the poor-laws, were left without much moral or religious training of any sort. "We saw but one Bible in the parish of Cheddar," said Hannah More at a far later time, "and that was used to prop a flower-pot." Within the towns things were worse. There was no effective police; and in great outbreaks the mob of London or Birmingham burnt houses, flung open prisons, and sacked and pillaged at their will. The criminal class gathered boldness and numbers in the face of ruthless laws which only testified to the terror of society, laws which made it a capital crime to cut down a cherry tree, and which strung up twenty young thieves of a morning in front of Newgate; while the introduction of gin gave a new impetus to drunkenness. In the streets of London at one time ginshops invited every passer-by to get drunk for a penny, or dead drunk for twopence.

Religious indifference

In spite, however, of scenes such as this, England remained at heart religious. In the

The religious revival.

middle class the old Puritan spirit lived on unchanged, and it was from this class that a religious revival burst forth at the close of Walpole's administration, which changed after a time the whole tone of English society. The Church was restored to life and activity. Religion carried to the hearts of the people a fresh spirit of moral zeal, while it purified our literature and our manners. A new philanthropy reformed our prisons, infused clemency and wisdom into our penal laws, abolished the slave trade, and gave the first impulse to popular education. The revival began in a small knot of Oxford students, whose revolt against the religious deadness of their times showed itself in ascetic observances, an enthusiastic devotion, and a methodical regularity of life which gained them the nickname of "Methodists." Three figures detached themselves from the group as soon as, on its transfer to London in 1738, it attracted public attention by the fervor and even extravagance of its piety; and each found his special work in the task to which the instinct of the new movement led it from the first, that of carrying religion and morality to the vast masses of population which lay concentrated in the towns, or around the mines and collieries of Cornwall and the north. Whitefield, a servitor of Pembroke College, was above all the preacher of the revival. Speech was governing English politics; and the religious power of speech was

The Methodists.

Whitefield.

shown when a dread of "enthusiasm" closed against the new apostles the pulpits of the Established Church, and forced them to preach in the fields. Their voice was soon heard in the wildest and most barbarous corners of the land, among the bleak moors of Northumberland, or in the dens of London, or in the long galleries where in the pauses of his labor the Cornish miner listens to the sobbing of the sea. Whitefield's preaching was such as England had never heard before, theatrical, extravagant, often commonplace, but hushing all criticism by its intense reality, its earnestness of belief, its deep tremulous sympathy with the sin and sorrow of mankind. It was no common enthusiast who could wring gold from the close-fisted Franklin and admiration from the fastidious Horace Walpole, or who could look down from the top of a green knoll at Kingswood on twenty thousand colliers, grimy from the Bristol coal-pits, and see as he preached the tears "making white channels down their blackened cheeks." On the rough and ignorant masses to whom they spoke the effect of Whitefield and his fellow Methodists was mighty both for good and ill. Their preaching stirred a passionate hatred in their opponents. Their lives were often in danger, they were mobbed, they were ducked, they were stoned, they were smothered with filth. But the enthusiasm they aroused was equally passionate. Women fell down in convulsions;

Effect of his preaching.

strong men were smitten suddenly to the earth; the preacher was interrupted by bursts of hysteric laughter or of hysteric sobbing. All the phenomena of strong spiritual excitement, so familiar now, but at that time strange and unknown, followed on their sermons; and the terrible sense of a conviction of sin, a new dread of hell, a new hope of heaven, took forms at once grotesque and sublime. Charles Wesley, a Christ Church student, came to add sweetness to this sudden and startling light. He was the "sweet singer" of the movement. His hymns expressed the fiery conviction of its converts in lines so chaste and beautiful that its more extravagant features disappeared. The wild throes of hysteric enthusiasm passed into a passion for hymn-singing, and a new musical impulse was aroused in the people which gradually changed the face of public devotion throughout England.

Charles Wesley.

But it was his elder brother, John Wesley, who embodied in himself not this or that side of the new movement, but the movement itself. Even at Oxford, where he resided as a fellow of Lincoln, he had been looked upon as head of the group of Methodists, and after his return from a quixotic mission to the Indians of Georgia he again took the lead of the little society, which had removed in the interval to London. In power as a preacher he stood next to Whitefield; as a hymn-writer he stood second to his brother Charles. But while com-

John Wesley, 1703-1791.

His great qualities.

bining in some degree the excellences of either, he possessed qualities in which both were utterly deficient; an indefatigable industry, a cool judgment, a command over others, a faculty of organization, a singular union of patience and moderation with an imperious ambition, which marked him as a ruler of men. He had besides a learning and skill in writing which no other of the Methodists possessed; he was older than any of his colleagues at the start of the movement, and he outlived them all. His life indeed almost covers the century, and the Methodist body had passed through every phase of its history before he sank into the grave at the age of eighty-eight. It would have been impossible for Wesley to have wielded the power he did had he not shared the follies and extravagance as well as the enthusiasm of his disciples. But with all this extravagance and superstition, Wesley's mind was essentially practical, orderly, and conservative. No man ever stood at the head of a great revolution whose temper was so anti-revolutionary. In his earlier days the bishops had been forced to rebuke him for the narrowness and intolerance of his churchmanship. When Whitefield began his sermons in the fields, Wesley "could not at first reconcile himself to that strange way." He condemned and fought against the admission of laymen as preachers till he found himself left with none but laymen to preach. To the last he clung

His prejudices.

passionately to the Church of England, and looked on the body he had formed as but a lay society in full communion with it. He broke with the Moravians, who had been the earliest friends of the new movement, when they endangered its safe conduct by their contempt of religious forms. He broke with Whitefield when the great preacher plunged into an extravagant Calvinism. But the same practical temper of mind which led him to reject what was unmeasured, and to be the last to adopt what was new, enabled him at once to grasp and organize the novelties he adopted. He became himself the most unwearied of field preachers, and his journal for half a century is little more than a record of fresh journeys and fresh sermons. When once driven to employ lay helpers in his ministry, he made their work a new and attractive feature in his system. His earlier asceticism only lingered in a dread of social enjoyments and an aversion from the gayer and sunnier side of life which links the Methodist movement with that of the Puritans. As the fervor of his superstition died down into the calm of age, his cool common-sense discouraged in his followers the enthusiastic outbursts which marked the opening of the revival. His powers were bent to the building up of a great religious society which might give to the new enthusiasm a lasting and practical form. The Methodists were grouped into classes, gath-

His common-sense.

ered in love-feasts, purified by the expulsion of unworthy members, and furnished with an alternation of settled ministers and wandering preachers; while the whole body was placed under the absolute government of a Conference of ministers. But so long as he lived, the direction of the new religious society remained with Wesley alone.

Influence of the movement.

The great body which he thus founded numbered a hundred thousand members at his death, and now counts its members in England and America by millions. But the Methodists themselves were the least result of the Methodist revival. Its action upon the Church broke the lethargy of the clergy; and the "Evangelical" movement, which found representatives like Newton and Cecil within the pale of the Establishment, made the fox-hunting parson and the absentee rector at last impossible. In Walpole's day, the English clergy were the idlest and most lifeless in the world. In our own time, no body of religious ministers surpasses them in piety, in philanthropic energy, or in popular regard. In the

The new Philanthropy.

nation at large appeared a new moral enthusiasm which, rigid and pedantic as it often seemed, was still healthy in its social tone, and whose power was seen in the disappearance of the profligacy which had disgraced the upper classes, and the foulness which had infested literature, ever since the Restoration. A yet nobler result of the religious revival was the

steady attempt, which has never ceased from that day to this, to remedy the guilt, the ignorance, the physical suffering, the social degradation of the profligate and the poor. It was not till the Wesleyan impulse had done its work that this philanthropic impulse began. The Sunday schools established by Mr. Raikes of Gloucester at the close of the century were the beginnings of popular education. By writings, and by her own personal example, Hannah More drew the sympathy of England to the poverty and crime of the agricultural laborer. A passionate impulse of human sympathy with the wronged and afflicted raised hospitals, endowed charities, built churches, sent missionaries to the heathen, supported Burke in his plea for the Hindoo, and Clarkson and Wilberforce in their crusade against the iniquity of the slave-trade. It is only the moral chivalry of his labors that among a crowd of philanthropists draws us most, perhaps, to the work and character of John Howard. The sympathy which all were feeling for the sufferings of mankind he felt for the sufferings of the worst and most hapless of men. With wonderful ardor and perseverance he devoted himself to the cause of the debtor, the felon, and the murderer. An appointment to the office of High Sheriff of Bedfordshire, in 1774, drew his attention to the state of the prisons which were placed under his care; and from that time the quiet country

Sunday schools.

John Howard.

Reform in prison discipline.

gentleman, whose only occupation had been reading his Bible and studying his thermometer, became the most energetic and zealous of reformers. The book in which he recorded his terrible experience, and the plans which he submitted for the reformation of criminals, made him the father, so far as England is concerned, of prison discipline. But his labors were far from being confined to England. In journey after journey he visited the jails of Holland and Germany, till his longing to discover some means of checking the fatal progress of the plague led him to examine the lazarettos of Europe and the East. He was still engaged in this work of charity when he was seized by a malignant fever at Cherson in Southern Russia, and "laid quietly in the earth," as he desired.

[In 1739, war breaks out between England and Spain. Admiral Vernon captures Portobello, and, on a voyage round the world, Anson attacks Peru. The Portuguese lose almost all their possessions on the northwest coast of India. In 1740, the Emperor dies and the male line of the Hapsburgs becomes extinct. The Czarina Anne dies. Frederick the Great succeeds his father, and, while the succession to the Empire is being contested, he seizes Silesia.]

WAR OF THE AUSTRIAN SUCCESSION

(A.D. 1740—1748)

SUTHERLAND MENZIES

IN 1724, Charles issued the Pragmatic Sanction, or fundamental law, which regulates the order of succession in the family of Austria. By this law, in default of male issue, Charles's eldest daughter, Maria Theresa, was called to the inheritance of the Austrian dominions, and her children and descendants after her. The Pragmatic Sanction was guaranteed by all the German princes, and several of the other powers of Europe, with the exception of the French and Spanish Bourbons, who were always jealous of the power of Austria. The Pragmatic Sanction.

The death of Augustus II., King of Poland, in 1733, was the signal of a new war on the part of the Bourbons against Austria, ostensibly on account of the Polish succession, which was disputed between Augustus III. and Stanislaus Leczinski. By the Peace of Vienna, in November, 1735, the Emperor gave up Naples and Sicily to Don Carlos, Infante of Spain, while the succession of Tus- War of the Austrian Succession.

cany, after the death of Gian Gastone, the last of the Medici, who was childless, was secured to Maria Theresa of Austria and her husband, Francis of Lorraine, who, in 1739, took possession of that fine country. The Emperor Charles died at Vienna, 20th of October, 1740, and was succeeded in his hereditary dominions, and afterward in the Empire, by his daughter, Maria Theresa, after a long and memorable war, known by the name of the War of the Austrian Succession. Charles was the last male offspring of the House of Austria-Hapsburg. The present house, though frequently called the House of Hapsburg, is Austria-Lorraine, being the descendants of Maria Theresa and Francis of Lorraine.

Maria Theresa.

Maria Theresa, Archduchess of Austria, Queen of Hungary and Bohemia, and Empress of Germany, was born in 1717. By the death of her father, Charles VI., she was, in accordance both with the rights of blood and the faith of treaties, the lawful sovereign of Bohemia, Hungary, Austria, Upper and Lower, and numerous other states, countries, and cities, in Germany, Italy, and the Netherlands. Of this vast inheritance she accordingly took undisputed possession. But she had soon to experience the faithlessness of princes. Charles Albert, Elector of Bavaria —a house which, from its alliance with France, and its own ambition, seemed destined to be the curse of the Empire and the

House of Austria—claimed Bohemia. Augustus of Saxony, who, like his Queen, had agreed to the Pragmatic Sanction, and by so doing had procured the support of Austria in his election to the throne of Poland, with great modesty demanded the whole of the Austrian dominions. A similar demand was made by the King of Spain; by the King of France; while the King of Sardinia, unable to cope with monarchs so powerful, showed his superior moderation, by declaring that he would be contented with the Duchy of Milan. Maria Theresa, however, with a spirit and decision remarkable for her age, lost no time in repairing to Vienna and taking possession of Austria, Bohemia, and her other German States; she then proceeded to Presburg, took the oaths to the constitution of Hungary, and was solemnly proclaimed Queen of that kingdom in 1741.

Conflicting claims.

The appearance of a young, helpless female on the thrones of those vast possessions, opened to these chivalrous princes a glorious prospect for the dismemberment of her States. But while they were carefully apportioning their respective shares of the spoil, a new and more dangerous competitor appeared in Frederick, King of Prussia. He offered the young Queen his friendship on the condition of her surrendering Silesia to him, but she resolutely refused, and Frederick invaded that province. The Elector of Bavaria overran Austria and

Invasion of Silesia by Frederick.

Bohemia, and pushed his troops to the gates of Vienna. Maria Theresa, being obliged to quit her capital, repaired to Presburg. Convoking the Hungarian Diet, she appeared in the midst of that assembly with her infant son, Joseph, in her arms. She told the magnates, prelates, and deputies, that "being assailed by her enemies on every side, forsaken by her friends, and finding even her own relatives hostile to her, she had no hopes except in their loyalty, and that she had come to place under their protection the daughter and the son of their kings." This heart-stirring appeal was answered by a burst of chivalrous enthusiasm. The Hungarian nobles, drawing their swords, unanimously cried out, "Moriamur pro *Rege* nostro, Maria Theresa," and the whole military force of Hungary was soon in arms to defend their Queen. Her troops, under General Kevenhuller and Prince Charles of Lorraine, her brother-in-law, fought gallantly, and drove the French and Bavarians out of the hereditary States.

Chivalrous enthusiasm.

Charles Albert, Elector of Bavaria, was in the meantime elected Emperor of Germany, by the Diet assembled at Frankfort, by the title of Charles VII. Frederick of Prussia soon made peace with Maria Theresa, who was obliged to surrender Silesia to him. But, though still menaced by these royal bandits, the Queen did not despair: supported by Hungary, which exhibited the most chivalrous de-

A rival Emperor elected.

votion to her cause, she commenced a career of the warfare highly glorious to the Austrian arms. In 1744, Frederick again declared war against her, and invaded Bohemia; but the Elector of Saxony, who had made his peace with her, sent the Queen reinforcements, which obliged the Prussians to evacuate the country.

In 1745, Charles VII. died, and Francis, Maria Theresa's husband, was elected Emperor. In 1747, the war continued to rage in Italy and Flanders, with various success. In 1748, the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle terminated the war called "the War of the Austrian Succession," and Maria Theresa was left in peaceful possession of all her hereditary dominions, except Silesia, which the King of Prussia kept.

Francis I. of Lorraine elected Emperor, 1745.

[In 1744, France declares war against England and Austria, and an expedition to restore the Young Pretender is ruined by a storm. In 1745, however, he lands in Scotland, wins the battle of Preston Pans, crosses the Border and penetrates England as far as Derby, but is afraid to proceed further. He retraces his steps and defeats the royal troops at Falkirk in January, 1746. He is totally defeated at Culloden, but by the devotion of his followers he escapes to France. The Highlanders are disarmed and the hereditary jurisdiction of their chiefs is abolished.]

THE CAPTURE OF CAPE BRETON

(A.D. 1745)

TOBIAS SMOLLETT

THE naval transactions of Great Britain were in the course of this year remarkably spirited. In the Mediterranean, Admiral Rowley had succeeded Matthews in the command: Savona, Genoa, Final, St. Remo, with Bastia, the capital of Corsica, were bombarded: several Spanish ships were taken; but he could not prevent the safe arrival of their rich Havana squadron at Corunna. Commodore Barnet, in the East Indies, captured several French ships, richly laden; and Commodore Townshend, in the latitude of Martinico, took about thirty merchant-ships belonging to the enemy, under convoy of four ships of war, two of which were destroyed. The English privateers likewise met with uncommon success. But the most important achievement was the conquest of Louisbourg on the isle of Cape Breton, in North America, a place of great consequence, which the French had fortified at a prodigious expense. The scheme of reducing

English successes.

Louisbourg attacked.

this fortress was planned in Boston, recommended by their general assembly, and approved by his Majesty, who sent instructions to Commodore Warren, stationed off the Leeward Islands, to sail for the northern parts of America, and co-operate with the forces of New England in this expedition. A body of six thousand men was formed under the conduct of Mr. Pepperel, a trader of Piscataquay, whose influence was extensive in that country; though he was a man of little or no education, and utterly unacquainted with military operations. In April, Mr. Warren arrived at Canso with ten ships of war; and the troops of New England being embarked in transports, sailed immediately for the isle of Cape Breton, where they landed without opposition. The enemy abandoned their grand battery, which was detached from the town, and the immediate seizure of it contributed in a good measure to the success of the enterprise. While the American troops, reinforced by eight hundred marines, carried on their approaches by land, the squadron blocked up the place by sea in such a manner that no succors could be introduced. A French ship of the line, with some smaller vessels destined for the relief of the garrison, were intercepted and taken by the British cruisers; and, indeed, the reduction of Louisbourg was chiefly owing to the vigilance and activity of Mr. Warren, one of the bravest and best officers in the service of Eng-

The blockade.

land. The operations of the siege were wholly conducted by the engineers and officers who commanded the British marines; and the Americans, being ignorant of war, were contented to act under their directions. The town being considerably damaged by the bombs and bullets of the besiegers, and the garrison despairing of relief, the governor capitulated on the 17th day of June, when the city of Louisbourg, and the isle of Cape Breton, were surrendered to his Britannic Majesty. The garrison and inhabitants engaged that they would not bear arms for twelve months against Great Britain or her allies; and being embarked in fourteen cartel ships, were transported to Rochefort. In a few days after the surrender of Louisbourg, two French East India ships, and another from Peru, laden with treasure, sailed into the harbor, on the supposition that it still belonged to France, and were taken by the English squadron.

Terms of capitulation.

The news of this conquest being transmitted to England, Mr. Pepperel was preferred to the dignity of a baronet of Great Britain, and congratulatory addresses were presented to the King on the success of his Majesty's arms. The possession of Cape Breton was, doubtless, a valuable acquisition to Great Britain. It not only distressed the French in their fishery and navigation, but removed all fears of encroachment and rivalship from

Pepperel honored.

the English fishers on the banks of Newfoundland. It freed New England from the terrors of a dangerous neighbor; overawed the Indians of that country; and secured the possession of Acadia to the crown of Great Britain. The plan of this conquest was originally laid by Mr. Auchmuty, Judge-Advocate of the Court of Admiralty in New England. He demonstrated that the reduction of Cape Breton would put the English in possession of the fishery of North America, which would annually return to Great Britain two millions sterling for the manufactures yearly shipped to the plantations; employ many thousand families that were otherwise unserviceable to the public; increase the shipping and mariners; extend navigation; cut off all communication between France and Canada by the river St. Lawrence; so that Quebec would fall of course into the hands of the English, who might expel the French entirely from America, open a correspondence with the remote Indians, and render themselves masters of the profitable fur-trade, which was now engrossed by the enemy. The natives of New England acquired great glory from the success of this enterprise. Britain, which had in some instances behaved like a stepmother to her own colonies, was now convinced of their importance; and treated those as brethren whom she had too long considered as aliens and rivals.

Advantages of this conquest.

[In 1746, Labourdonnais seizes Madras, and Dupleix, the Governor of Pondicherry, defeats a large Hindoo force. In 1747, Ahmed Shah Durani founds modern Afghanistan. In 1748, the Ohio Company receives its charter and begins to annoy the French settlers. England acquires Madras. The Punjab is invaded by Ahmed Shah. Excavations are begun at Pompeii. In 1751, Dupleix menaces Madras. Clive volunteers and captures Arcot. The first two volumes of the *Encyclopédie* appear. Mason and Dixon determine the boundaries of Pennsylvania, Delaware and Maryland, and continue westward until stopped by the Indians. In 1752, Clive captures Trichinopoly. In 1753, the Levant Company is dissolved. Duquesne seizes Fort Duquesne and arrests traders of the Ohio Company. Virginia strongly protests. Sir Hans Sloane's bequests form the nucleus of the British Museum. In 1754, Washington, who is sent to Ohio with the Virginia militia, is defeated. Accompanied by Washington, Braddock is sent to capture Fort Duquesne. In 1755, Boscawen captures French ships and war breaks out.]

Clive captures Arcot.

The British Museum.

BRADDOCK'S DEFEAT

(A.D. 1755)

JAMES GRANT

WHILE the New Englanders were employed in reducing the French in Nova Scotia, preparations were made in Virginia for attacking them upon the Ohio. The colonies on the coast had extended themselves on every side, while the Indian trade had been alluring many wandering dealers into the inland country, where they found well-watered plains and green savannas, luxuriant woods, a delightful climate, and a fruitful soil. These advantages appearing to compensate for the distance from the sea, a company of merchants and planters obtained a charter for a tract of land beyond the Alleghany Mountains, and near the stately Ohio commenced the establishment of a colony. To this part of America the French laid instant claim, and, driving away the new settlers, built a strong fort, called Duquesne, to command the entrance into the country on the Ohio and Mississippi; and from its situation it bade fair to become the most important mili-

Settlements beyond the Alleghanies.

tary work in North America, as it stood 250 miles west by north of Philadelphia.

A post, called Fort Cumberland, was now also built at Wills's Creek; and on the 14th of January, Major-General Edward Braddock sailed from Cork, in Ireland, with the regiments of Sir Peter Halkett, Bart., and Thomas Dunbar, the 44th and 48th respectively, and with these battalions he landed safely in Virginia shortly before the end of February.

Braddock arrives in Virginia.

Braddock was an officer of the Coldstream Guards, a battalion of which he had command in the Netherlands and at the siege of Bergen-op-Zoom.

Lord Mahon, in his *History of England from the Peace of Utrecht,* says thus of this officer:—

"Braddock was a man cast in the same mold as General Hawley, of a brave but brutal temper, and, like Hawley also, a personal favorite of the Duke of Cumberland. His rigorous ideas of discipline made him hateful to his soldiers; and from the same cause he held in great contempt the American militia, seeing that they could not go through their exercises with the same dexterity which he had so often admired and enforced in Hyde Park. As to the Indians, the allies of France, he treated with disdain all the warnings he received against an ambush or surprise from them; and the Indians of his own party who

Character of Braddock

would have been his surest guards against this particular peril, were so disgusted by the haughtiness of his demeanor, that most of them forsook their banners."

He was destitute of the caution, stratagem, and secrecy necessary in a leader of troops.

His second in command, Sir Peter Halkett, of Pitfirrane, in Fifeshire, was a brave and honorable officer. At the late battle of Preston Pans, he, with all the officers of his regiment (the 44th), had been taken prisoners by the Prince, but the whole were released on parole. He was one who, with five others, viz., the Honorable Mr. Ross, Captain Lucy Scott, and Lieutenants Farquharson and Cumming, refused to rejoin their regiments at the Duke of Cumberland's command and threat of forfeiting their commissions. Their reply was, "His Highness is master of these, but not of our honor."

Sir Peter Halkett.

With this expedition of Braddock there was a naval force, consisting of two fifty-gun ships, under the Honorable Captain Keppel; and its departure was no sooner known at the Court of France than it began to assume a hostile disposition.

From the date of his landing, General Braddock should have been able to have entered upon action, collaterally with Colonel Monkton, early in the spring; but unfortunately he was delayed by the Virginian contractors for the army. When the latter was ready to

Braddock is delayed.

march, these men had failed to provide a sufficient supply of provisions for the troops and a competent number of wagons for transport. "This accident was foreseen," says Smollett, "by almost every person who knew anything of our plantations upon the continent of America: for the people of Virginia, who think of no produce but their tobacco, and do not raise corn enough for their own subsistence, being by the nature of their country well provided with the conveniency of water conveyance, have but few wheel-carriages or beasts of burden; whereas Pennsylvania, which abounds in corn and most other sorts of provision, has but little water-carriage, especially in its western settlements, where its inhabitants have great numbers of carts, wagons, and horses."

His difficulties.

General Braddock should therefore have landed in Pennsylvania; and if his first camp had been formed at Franks Town, he would not have had more than 80 miles to march to reach Fort Duquesne, instead of 130, which the troops had to traverse from their camp at Wills's Creek. By great efforts he ultimately procured 15 wagons and 100 draught-horses, instead of 150 wagons and 300 horses, which the Virginian contractors had promised him; while the provisions they furnished were so bad as to be unfit for use.

Under these adverse circumstances he began his march through woods, deserts, and morasses; scenes very different to those where

his past experience had been,—the fertile plains of the Low Countries and the stately parks of London. Before he left the latter he had received, in the handwriting of Colonel Napier, a set of instructions from the Duke of Cumberland, indicating that he was to attack Niagara, to leave the reduction of Crown Point to the Provincial forces; but, above all, both verbally and in writing, he had been cautioned by Cumberland to beware of ambush and surprise. His instructions.

Full of his own conceit, he utterly disdained to ask the opinion of any officer under his command; and proceeded at the head of 2,200 bayonets, on the 10th of June, for the Little Meadows, the scene of Washington's reverse in the preceding year. There he found it necessary to leave part of his slender force, under Colonel Dunbar, and all his heavy baggage; and advanced with only 1,200 men and ten pieces of artillery, although he was informed the French commander in Fort Duquesne expected a fresh reinforcement of 500 regular troops. He marched on with so much expedition that he seldom took any time to reconnoitre the woods or thickets he had to pass through, as if the nearer he approached the enemy the safer he would be from danger.

On the 8th of July he encamped within ten miles of Fort Duquesne. Colonel Dunbar was now forty miles in his rear; and his officers, but more especially Sir Peter Halkett,

His lack of caution.

entreated him to proceed with caution, and employ the friendly Indians who were with them as an advanced guard, in case of ambuscades. In spite of this he resumed his march next day, without sending a single scout into the dense woods which now surrounded his slender force.

About noon the troops entered a hollow vale, on each side of which there grew a dense primeval forest and thick brushwood. Suddenly the echoes of the solitude were awakened by a fatal and appalling whoop, the war-cry of the native Indians; and in a moment there was opened upon the front and all along the left flank of Braddock's force a deadly and disastrous fire, from an enemy so skilfully and artfully disposed that not a man of them could be seen, the flashing of their muskets alone indicating where they lay. These assailants were the native Indians, assisted by a few French troops from the fort.

Attack by French and Indians.

The advanced guard instantly fell back on the main body; the panic and confusion became general, and most of the troops fled with precipitation; and, notwithstanding that all their officers behaved with the most brilliant gallantry, it was impossible to stop their career. And now General Braddock, instead of opening a fire of grape from the ten pieces of cannon he had with him, and so scouring the place whence this fusillade was coming, or despatching any of his Indians to take the am-

bush in flank, obstinately remained upon the spot where he was, and gave orders for the few brave men who remained with him to advance. Braddock's obstinacy.

Thickly fell the dead and dying around him, and all the officers were singled out in succession and shot down, as the marksmen could distinguish them by their dress, their gorgets, and sashes, which were now worn in the German fashion, round the waist. At last Braddock, whose obstinacy, pride, and courage seemed to increase with the peril around, after having no less than five horses killed under him, received a musket-shot through the right arm and lungs, of which he died in a few hours, after being carried off the field by his aide-de-camp, the Honorable Colonel Gage, and some soldiers, whom, according to Lord Mahon, that officer had to bribe by offering them a guinea and a bottle of rum each. Gage, son of the viscount of that name, died a lieutenant-general, in 1788.

When Braddock fell, the confusion of the few who remained became complete; a most disorderly flight ensued across a river which they had just passed. They were not followed, as the artillery, ammunition, and baggage of the army were all left behind; and these, together with the savage use of the tomahawk and scalping-knife on the 700 dead and wounded who lay in the little valley, afforded ample occupation for the exulting Indians. Braddock's cabinet was taken, with all his let- Confusion and flight.

ters and instructions, of which the Court of France made great use in their printed memorials and manifestoes.

British losses.

Among those who perished by the first fire were Sir Peter Halkett and his son James, a lieutenant in the 44th Regiment, and the son of Governor Shirley; among those wounded were two aides-de-camp, Captains Orm and Morris, and Sir John Sinclair, the quarter-master-general. What number of men the enemy had in this ambuscade, or what loss they sustained at the hands of the few who resisted, was never ascertained, for the survivors never halted until they reached Fort Cumberland.

THE GREAT EARTHQUAKE AT LISBON

(A.D. 1755)

J. CHASE

IT is universally agreed that all the mischief proceeded from the first three shocks of the earthquake, which were attended with a tumbling sort of motion, like the waves of the sea, so that it was amazing the houses resisted so long as they did. Three earthquake shocks.

No place nor time could have been more unlucky for the miserable people! The city was full of narrow streets; the houses strong built and high, so that their falling filled up all the passages; the day of All Saints with the Portuguese—a great holiday, when all the altars of the churches were lighted up with many candles, just at the time when they were fullest of people! Most of the churches fell immediately. The streets were thronged with people going to and from mass, many of whom must have been destroyed by the mere falling of the upper parts of the houses.

It would be impossible to pretend justly to describe the universal horror and distress that everywhere prevailed! Many saved themselves by going upon the water, while others

found there the death they hoped to have avoided. Some were wonderfully preserved by getting to the tops of their houses; more by retiring to the bottoms of them. Others, again, unhurt, were imprisoned under the ruins of their dwellings, only to be burnt alive! while two Dutchmen, in particular, were said to have escaped by the fire reaching the ruins of their house, and lighting them through passages they would not otherwise have found out. The earnest but unheeded supplications of the disabled, and the violent noisy prayers of the people, who thought it to be the Day of Judgment, added to the general distraction. In short, death in every shape soon grew familiar to the eye.

The universal horror and distress

The river is said to have risen and fallen several times successively in a most wonderful manner; at one time threatening to overflow the lower parts of the city, and directly afterward leaving the ships almost aground in the middle of its bed, showing rocks that had never been seen before.

The duration of the first shock (which came without any warning, except a great noise heard by the people near the water-side), is variously reported, but by none is estimated at less than three minutes and a half. At the latter part of it (I suppose), I was thrown over the wall, and fell about four stories, between the houses, where I must have lain but a little time, if it was the second shock that I

Duration of the first shock.

felt in the Portuguese man's house—which was said to have happened at ten o'clock (though by some people it is confounded with the first). I almost think it could not have been the third that I felt at Mr. Jorg's house; for as that took place at twelve o'clock, I must have remained a long time in the street, whereas it appeared to me that, instead of two hours, as it must have been if between the second and third shocks, I lay there scarcely a quarter of an hour.

Before I left Mr. Jorg's house on the Saturday night, about eleven o'clock, which was in the same street with ours, called Pedras Nagras, situated upon the hill leading up to the castle, I saw all the middle part of the city to the King's palace, and from thence up the opposite hill to us, leading to the Baira Alto, containing a number of parishes, all in one great blaze.

Three times I thought myself inevitably lost! The first, when I saw all the city moving like the water; the second, when I found myself shut up between four walls; and, the third time, when, with that vast fire before me, I thought myself to be abandoned in Mr. Jorg's house; and even in the square, where I remained the Saturday night and Sunday, the almost continual trembling of the earth, as well as the sinking of the great stone quay adjoining to the square, at the third great shock at twelve o'clock (covered, as it was said, with

The city in a blaze.

Sinking of the great stone quay.

three hundred people, or perhaps more justly with one hundred and fifty, who were endeavoring to get into boats, and were, boats and all, swallowed up, which was the reason so few boats ventured on the river for some time after), made me fearful lest the water had undermined the square, and that at every succeeding shock we should likewise sink; or else, as the ground was low, and even with the water, the least rising of it would overflow us. Full of these terrors, as well as the distresses already mentioned, it more than once occurred to me that the Inquisition, with all its utmost cruelty, could not have invented half such a variety of tortures for the mind as we were then suffering.

Had the general consternation been less, not only many lives, but even much property might have been saved; for the fire did not till the Saturday morning, reach the Custom-House, which stood next to the water-side, and had large open places on each side of it; so that great multitudes of bundles, which caused us so much distress, might easily have been saved by boats, as in some parts the fire was but two days in getting to them. But the King's soldiers, among whom were many foreign deserters, instead of assisting the people, turned plunderers, adding to the fires, as some before their execution confessed.

Soldiers turn plunderers.

No fire came out of the ground, but the whole was occasioned by the fallen houses;

nor were there any openings of the earth, unless the sinking of the quay was caused by one, but everywhere innumerable cracks, from many of which were thrown out water and sand.

The King sent directly to the nearest garrison for his troops, upon whose arrival order was restored; and the butchers and bakers dispersed about to provide for the people, who were not permitted to move further from the city without passes. The common people were immediately forced by the soldiers with swords drawn to bury the dead bodies, the stench growing so noisome that bad consequences were apprehended from it. The judges were also dispersed about with orders to execute upon the spot all who were found guilty of murder or theft. It was said before we left the place that there were above eighty bodies hanging upon gibbets round about the city. Several of the ships were searched, and none were allowed to leave the harbor without permission.

Severity of rules enforced

All the heart of the city (the rich part of it) was burnt. The suburbs, which were very large, escaped, and have since been repaired. All the towns and villages round about suffered more or less. Setuval was not only thrown down and burnt, but afterward overflowed. The shock was strongly felt at Oporto, 150 miles to the northward, and even at Madrid, 300 miles from Lisbon.

Extent of the earthquake.

Every place to the south suffered greatly. The royal palace and convent at Mafra were not thrown down, nor the grand aqueduct.

The royal family were at Belem, where they most commonly resided. It was said a large stone grazed the Queen's neck as she went downstairs. None of them, however, was hurt.

The Portuguese from the first ran into two extremes; making the number of the inhabitants of their city to be much greater than it really was, and, on the other hand, as much diminishing that of the persons who perished. The former, they insisted, could not be so little as 350,000; but Mr. Hake, from many years' residence in the place, thinks 250,000 to have been the outside; and the latter they were desirous of concealing for political reasons, therefore it is unlikely that the number will ever be known. In one of their best accounts since published, it is calculated at about 15,000; but Mr. John Bristow, junior, has told me that he had from the very best authority (as I imagine, the Secretary of State) that the number of the dead found and buried was 22,000 and some hundreds; in which case, as there must have remained a yet larger number under the ruins, the computation would be moderate at 50,000 people lost by the earthquake.

Number of people killed.

There were sixty-nine British subjects killed on that occasion, most of whom were Irish

Number of British killed.

Roman Catholics. Only about twelve or thirteen English out of three hundred—a most moderate number in proportion to the general loss. This, I suppose, was greatly owing (next to Divine Providence) to the distance they were at from the streets, where the destruction was almost over before they could arrive. Mrs. Hake, sister to Sir Charles Hardy, was killed by the falling of the front of her own house, after she had got into the street. Her body was found under the rubbish three months after, not at all changed.

Joy at meeting friends.

It is inconceivable as well as inexpressible the joy it gave us to meet with one another, each thinking the other in a manner to be risen from the dead, and all having wonderful escapes to relate, all equally satisfied to have preserved their lives only, without desiring anything further. But soon, this joyful impression passing away, and cares and necessities making themselves felt, many, on considering their utterly destitute condition, almost regretted that the same stroke had not deprived them of life which had stripped them of all means of existence.

As for the Portuguese, they were entirely employed in a kind of religious madness, lugging about saints without heads or limbs, telling one another how they met with such misfortunes; and if by any chance they espied a bigger, throwing their own aside, they hauled

Behavior of the Portuguese.

away the greater weight of holiness, kissing those of each other that they encountered; while their clergy declared that the earthquake was a judgment on them for their wickedness.

THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR

(A.D. 1756—1763)

WILLIAM FRANCIS COLLIER

BOTH in India and America the interests of France and England had long been clashing. Open war was at last declared. Already blood had been spilled in the colonies; but it was not until 1756 that the German King of England, trembling for the safety of his beloved Hanover, formed an alliance with Frederic of Prussia, and prepared for a stern struggle. The great powers of Europe ranged themselves on one side or other. Austria, glad to see the tie between France and Prussia at last broken, took arms in the hope of recovering the lost Silesia. Thus Austria, France, Russia, Saxony, Sweden and Poland were arrayed against Prussia and England; and the great Seven Years' War began.

Opposing interests.

The Colonial War between France and England, which interweaves itself with the Seven Years' War, lies beyond our scope. We shall trace the story of the war as it affected Continental Europe only; and, to make

the sketch clearer, we shall follow the order of the seven campaigns.

Frederic invades Saxony.

Frederic began the war. At the head of 70,000 men he invaded Saxony, moving his troops by converging roads toward Dresden, the great centre of attack. He defeated the Austrians at Lowositz. Then seizing the archives of Dresden, and smashing the cabinet in which the State papers were kept, he read the whole story of the secret plot laid for the partition of Prussia. These papers he published in order to defend the step he had taken.

The second campaign—greatest of the seven—began with the invasion of Bohemia by Frederic and his Prussians. Near Prague he won a great battle over the Austrians, and then besieged the city. But the advance of the Austrian Marshal, Daun, whose intrenched camp at Kolin was the scene of Frederic's first great defeat, saved the Bohemian capital. A thunder-shower of misfortunes then seemed to burst over the head of the Prussian King. The house of Brandenburg tottered to its lowest stone,—Russians breaking through his eastern frontier, Swedes in Pomerania marching on Berlin, his friends, the English, driven in disgrace from Hanover by the French, who were rapidly advancing into Saxony. In the midst of all his mother died. He loved her well, and in his utter despair suicide seemed his only refuge from a crowd of miseries. Then came the turn of the

tide. The Russian Empress took ill, and her troops were recalled. This was one foe less. Dashing suddenly into Saxony, with only 20,000 men, he faced a French and Austrian army, twice the size of his own, at the village of Rossbach. Invasion of Bohemia.

About eleven o'clock in the morning of a winter day, the massive lines of the allied armies advanced in battle array, exulting in their strength, and sure of victory. Frederic, seeming not to stir, silently moved his troops into a new position. Their march was concealed by the broken ground; and when, later in the day, the allies moved to the attack, they were met and broken into huddled crowds by an avalanche of horses, men, and cannon-shot, pouring with terrific speed and force upon their lines, already disordered by the hurry of their advance. In half an hour the fate of the day was decided. While Frederic lost only a few hundred men, nearly 9,000 of the foe were killed, wounded, or made prisoners. Battle of Rossbach.

Just a month later (December 5) Frederic defeated the Austrians in the great battle of Leuthen, or Lissa, in Silesia. His tactics were here the same as at Rossbach. Feigning to attack their right wing, he suddenly concentrated a great force, which he had quietly mustered behind the hills, upon their weakened left, and swept it before him. Instead of returning the move, the Austrian general moved the right wing up to support the broken left. Battle of Leuthen.

But he was too late; and the whole Austrian force was driven from the field, in spite of their gallant stand, maintained for a full hour among the houses of Leuthen. The action lasted from one to four in the day. The Austrians lost in killed and wounded 12,000 men; the Prussian loss was at least 5,000. The immediate results of the victory were the recapture of Silesia, which had been overrun by the Austrians, and the exaltation of Frederic to the greatest fame. London was a blaze of illumination in his honor, and the English Parliament voted him £700,000 a year.

Battle of Zorndorf.

Early in the third campaign, an army of English and Hanoverians, under the Duke of Brunswick, drove the French back across the Rhine. Later in the year, Frederic inflicted a terrible defeat upon the Russians at Zorndorf in Brandenburg. From nine in the morning till seven in the evening, the Russians, formed into a square, held their ground under incessant discharges of artillery, followed by rapid charges of horse and foot. Twenty-one thousand Russians lay slain on this fatal field. Still later in the season, Count Daun, the leader of the Austrians, broke the right wing of Frederic's army at Hochkirchen in Saxony; but on the whole the cause of the Prussian king was triumphant in the campaign. He still held Silesia; and the French had been driven from Germany.

Blow after blow fell heavily on Frederic

in the fourth year of the war. It is true that his ally, Ferdinand of Brunswick, defeated the French in the battle of Minden (August 1), thus saving the Electorate of Hanover from a second conquest. But the Prussian King himself, meeting the Russians at Kunersdorf in Brandenburg, was driven from the field with the loss of 18,000 men. Dresden was taken and held by the Austrians. An army of nearly 20,000 Prussians, hemmed in by Austrian bayonets among the passes of Bohemia, was forced to surrender at discretion to Marshal Daun.

Prussian reverses.

After some vain attempts at negotiations, the war continued with increased bitterness. Frederic was desperate. He stood at bay amid a gigantic host of 200,000 men; and all his efforts could not muster half that number. Yet with these he was victorious, gaining strength from the very hopelessness of his cause. The defeat of his general, Fouqué, in Silesia roused him to action. Drawing off Daun by a pretended march into Silesia, he turned suddenly upon Dresden. For many days a storm of cannon-shot poured upon the city, crumbling some of its finest buildings into dust. But the return of Daun, who quickly perceived the false move he had made, obliged Frederic to abandon the siege. Yet he soon made up for this temporary check. By his victory over Laudohn at Liegnitz, when three Austrian generals lay round his camp, sure

Frederic's desperate position.

Battles of Liegnitz and Torgau

now that they had the lion in their toils, he prevented the union of the Russian and Austrian forces. Then, enraged by the pillage of Berlin, into which the Russians and Austrians had made a hasty dash, he followed up his success by an attack upon the camp of Daun, who had intrenched himself strongly at Torgau on the Elbe. Broken three times by the fire of two hundred Austrian cannon, the Prussian troops struggled bravely up to the batteries, took them, and drove the defenders in disorder across the river. Darkness alone saved the Austrians from annihilation. The immediate result of this great victory was the recovery by Frederic of all Saxony except Dresden. And, stricken with sudden fear, his enemies all shrank away from Prussia. This year is also marked by the formation of a secret treaty, called the Family Compact, formed between the Bourbons of France and Spain.

The Family Compact.

The war dragged on through its sixth campaign. The King of Prussia, thoroughly exhausted by his enormous efforts, remained in a strong camp in the heart of Silesia, watching his foes, but able to do no more. Again, we are told, the thought of suicide crossed his mind.

A death saved him. Elizabeth of Russia died on the 5th of January, 1762, and her successor, Peter III., Frederic's warm admirer and friend, not only made peace, but sent him

aid. The example set by Russia was followed by Sweden. Then came the Peace of Paris, concluded by England, France and Spain. Thus Austria and Prussia fronted each other alone, and they, too, signed the Peace of Hubertsburg, which left the face of Germany, on the whole, unchanged. Frederic still held the small province of Silesia, for the sake of which the life-blood of more than a million had been poured out like water. And so ended the great Seven Years' War, of which the Prussian King was the central figure, and in which he won imperishable renown as a gallant soldier and a daring tactician.

Peace of Hubertsburg.

[In 1756, the French take Port Mahon, Admiral Byng neglecting to relieve it. Surajah Dowlah takes Calcutta and 123 English captives are suffocated in the Black Hole.]

THE CONQUESTS OF BENGAL AND CANADA

(A.D. 1757—1764)

JOHN RICHARD GREEN

IT was fortune rather than his genius which showered on Pitt the triumphs which signalized the opening of his ministry. In the East the daring of a merchant's clerk made a company of English traders the sovereigns of Bengal, and opened that wondrous career of conquest which has added the Indian peninsula, from Ceylon to the Himalayas, to the dominion of the British crown. Recalled by broken health to England, Clive returned at the outbreak of the Seven Years' War to win for England a greater prize than that which his victories had won for it in the supremacy of the Carnatic. He had been only a few months at Madras when a crime whose horror still lingers in English memories called him to Bengal. Bengal, the delta of the Ganges, was the richest and most fertile of all the provinces of India. Its rice, its sugar, its silk, and the produce of its looms, were famous in European markets. Its viceroys, like their fellow lieutenants, had become practi-

Clive returns to India.

cally independent of the Emperor, and had added to Bengal the provinces of Orissa and Behar. Surajah Dowlah, the master of this vast domain, had long been jealous of the enterprise and wealth of the English traders; and, roused at this moment by the instigation of the French, he appeared before Fort William, seized its settlers, and thrust a hundred and fifty of them into a small prison called the Black Hole of Calcutta. The heat of an Indian summer did its work of death. The wretched prisoners trampled each other under foot in the madness of thirst, and in the morning only twenty-three remained alive. Clive sailed at the news with a thousand Englishmen and two thousand sepoys to wreak vengeance for the crime. He was no longer the boy-soldier of Arcot; and the tact and skill with which he met Surajah Dowlah in the negotiations by which the Viceroy strove to avert a conflict were sullied by the Oriental falsehood and treachery to which he stooped. But his courage remained unbroken. When the two armies faced each other on the plain of Plassey the odds were so great that on the very eve of the battle a council of war counselled retreat. Clive withdrew to a grove hard by, and after an hour's lonely musing gave the word to fight. Courage, in fact, was all that was needed. The fifty thousand foot and fourteen thousand horse who were seen covering the plain at daybreak on the 23d of

Black Hole of Calcutta.

Battle of Plassey.

June, 1757, were soon thrown into confusion by the English guns, and broke in headlong rout before the English charge. The death of Surajah Dowlah enabled the Company to place a creature of its own on the throne of Bengal; but his rule soon became a nominal one. With the victory of Plassey began in fact the Empire of England in the East.

Pitt and Frederick.

The year of Plassey was the year of a victory hardly less important in the West. There was little indeed in the military expeditions which marked the opening of Pitt's ministry to justify the trust of his country; for money and blood were lavished on buccaneering descents upon the French coasts which did small damage to the enemy. But incidents such as these had little weight in the minister's general policy. His greatness lies in the fact that he recognized the genius of Frederick the Great, and resolved to give him an energetic support. On his entry into office he refused to ratify the Convention of Closter-Seven, which had reduced Frederick to despair by throwing open his realm to a French advance; protected his flank by gathering an English and Hanoverian force on the Elbe, and on the counsel of the Prussian King placed the best of his generals, the Prince of Brunswick, at its head; while subsidy after subsidy was poured into Frederick's exhausted treasury. Pitt's trust was met by the most brilliant display of military genius which the modern world had

as yet witnessed. Two months after his repulse at Kolin, Frederick flung himself on a French army which had advanced into the heart of Germany, and annihilated it in the victory of Rossbach. Before another month had passed, he hurried from the Saale to the Oder, and by a yet more signal victory at Leuthen cleared Silesia of the Austrians. The victory of Rossbach was destined to change the fortunes of the world by bringing about the unity of Germany; its immediate effect was to force the French army on the Elbe to fall back on the Rhine. Here Ferdinand of Brunswick, reinforced with twenty thousand English soldiers, held them at bay during the summer, while Frederick, foiled in an attack on Moravia, drove the Russians back on Poland in the battle of Zorndorf. His defeat, however, by the Austrian General Daun at Hochkirch proved the first of a series of terrible misfortunes; and the year 1759 marks the lowest point of his fortunes. A fresh advance of the Russian army forced the King to attack it at Kunersdorf in August, and Frederick's repulse ended in the utter rout of his army. For the moment all seemed lost, for even Berlin lay open to the conqueror. A few days later the surrender of Dresden gave Saxony to the Austrians; and at the close of the year an attempt upon them at Plauen was foiled with terrible loss. But every disaster was retrieved by the indomitable courage and

Rossbach, Nov. 1757

Frederick's misfortunes

tenacity of the King, and winter found him, as before, master of Silesia and of all Saxony save the ground which Daun's camp covered. The year which marked the lowest point of Frederick's fortunes was the year of Pitt's greatest triumphs, the year of Minden and Quiberon and Quebec. France aimed both at a descent upon England and at the conquest of Hanover, and gathered a naval armament at Brest, while fifty thousand men under Contades and Broglie united on the Weser. Ferdinand with less than forty thousand met them on the field of Minden. The French marched along the Weser to the attack, with their flanks protected by that river and a brook which ran into it, and with their cavalry, ten thousand strong, massed in the centre. The six English regiments in Ferdinand's army fronted the French horse, and, mistaking their general's order, marched at once upon them in line, regardless of the batteries on their flank, and rolled back charge after charge with volleys of musketry. In an hour the French centre was utterly broken. "I have seen," said Contades, "what I never thought to be possible—a single line of infantry break through three lines of cavalry, ranked in order of battle, and tumble them to ruin!" Nothing but the refusal of Lord George Sackville to complete the victory by a charge of the horse which he headed saved the French from utter rout. As it was, their army again fell

Minden, Aug. 1759.

back broken on Frankfort and the Rhine. The project of an invasion of England met with like success. Eighteen thousand men lay ready to embark on board the French fleet, when Admiral Hawke came in sight of it at the mouth of Quiberon Bay. The sea was rolling high, and the coast where the French ships lay was so dangerous from its shoals and granite reefs that the pilot remonstrated with the English admiral against the project of attack. "You have done your duty in this remonstrance," Hawke coolly replied; "now lay me alongside the French admiral." Two English ships were lost on the shoals, but the French fleet was ruined and the disgrace of Byng's retreat wiped away.

Quiberon, Nov. 20.

It was not in the Old World only that the year of Minden and Quiberon brought glory to the arms of England. In Europe, Pitt had wisely limited his efforts to the support of Prussia, but across the Atlantic the field was wholly his own, and he had no sooner entered office than the desultory raids, which had hitherto been the only resistance to French aggression, were superseded by a large and comprehensive plan of attack. The sympathies of the colonies were won by an order which gave their provincial officers equal rank with the royal officers in the field. They raised at Pitt's call twenty thousand men, and taxed themselves heavily for their support. Three expeditions were simultaneously directed

The conquest of Canada.

American expeditions

against the French line—one to the Ohio valley, one against Ticonderoga on Lake Champlain, while a third under General Amherst and Admiral Boscawen sailed to the mouth of the St. Lawrence. The last was brilliantly successful. Louisburg, though defended by a garrison of five thousand men, was taken with the fleet in its harbor, and the whole province of Cape Breton reduced. The American militia supported the British troops in a vigorous campaign against the forts; and though Montcalm, with a far inferior force, was able to repulse General Abercromby from Ticonderoga, a force from Philadelphia and Virginia, guided and inspired by the courage of George Washington, made itself master of Duquesne. The name of Pittsburg, which was given to their new conquest, still commemorates the enthusiasm of the colonists for the great Minister who first opened to them the West. The next year saw the evacuation of Ticonderoga before the advance of Amherst, and the capture of Fort Niagara after the defeat of an Indian force which marched to its relief. The capture of the three forts was the close of the French effort to bar the advance of the colonists to the valley of the Mississippi, and to place in other than English hands the destinies of North America. But Pitt had resolved, not merely to foil the ambition of Montcalm, but to destroy the French rule in America altogether; and while

Louisburg taken.

Duquesne captured and named Pittsburg.

Amherst was breaking through the line of forts, an expedition under General Wolfe entered the St. Lawrence and anchored below Quebec. Wolfe had already fought at Dettingen, Fontenoy, and Laffeldt, and had played the first part in the capture of Louisburg. Pitt had discerned the genius and heroism which lay hidden beneath the awkward manner and the occasional gasconade of the young soldier of thirty-three whom he chose for the crowning exploit of the war, but for a while his sagacity seemed to have failed. No efforts could draw Montcalm from the long line of inaccessible cliffs which at this point borders the river, and for six weeks Wolfe saw his men wasting away in inactivity while he himself lay prostrate with sickness and despair. At last his resolution was fixed, and in a long line of boats the army dropped down the St. Lawrence to a point at the base of the Heights of Abraham, where a narrow path had been discovered to the summit. Not a voice broke the silence of the night save the voice of Wolfe himself, as he quietly repeated the stanzas of Gray's *Elegy in a Country Churchyard,* remarking as he closed, "I had rather be the author of that poem than take Quebec." But his nature was as brave as it was tender; he was the first to leap on shore and to scale the narrow path where no two men could go abreast. His men followed, pulling themselves to the top by the help of

Wolfe at Quebec.

bushes and the crags, and at daybreak on the 12th of September the whole army stood in orderly formation before Quebec. Montcalm hastened to attack, though his force, composed chiefly of raw militia, was far inferior in discipline to the English; his onset, however, was met by a steady fire, and at the first English advance his men gave way. Wolfe headed a charge which broke the French line, but a ball pierced his breast in the moment of victory. "They run," cried an officer who held the dying man in his arms—"I protest they run." Wolfe rallied to ask who they were that ran, and was told "The French." "Then," he murmured, "I die happy!" The fall of Montcalm in the moment of his defeat completed the victory; and the submission of Canada, on the capture of Montreal by Amherst in 1760, put an end to the dream of a French empire in America.

Death of Wolfe.

France loses Canada.

Never had England played so great a part in the history of mankind as in the year 1759. It was a year of triumphs in every quarter of the world. In September came the news of Minden, and of a victory off Lagos. In October came tidings of the capture of Quebec. November brought word of the French defeat at Quiberon. "We are forced to ask every morning what victory there is," laughed Horace Walpole, "for fear of missing one." But it was not so much in the number as in the importance of its triumphs that the Seven

Years' War stood and remains still without a rival. It is no exaggeration to say that three of its many victories determined for ages to come the destinies of mankind. With that of Rossbach began the re-creation of Germany, the revival of its political and intellectual life, the long process of its union under the leadership of Prussia and Prussia's kings. With that of Plassey the influence of Europe told for the first time since the days of Alexander on the nations of the East. The world, in Burke's gorgeous phrase, "saw one of the races of the northwest cast into the heart of Asia new manners, new doctrines, new institutions." With the triumph of Wolfe on the Heights of Abraham began the history of the United States. By removing an enemy whose dread had knit the colonists to the mother country, and by breaking through the line with which France had barred them from the basin of the Mississippi, Pitt laid the foundation of the great republic of the west. Nor were these triumphs less momentous to Britain. The Seven Years' War is a turning-point in the history of the world. Till now the relative weight of the European states had been drawn from their possessions within Europe itself. But from the close of the war it mattered little whether England counted for less or more with the nations around her. She was no longer a mere European power, no longer a mere rival of Germany or Russia

Re-creation of Germany

Importance of the Seven Years' War.

or France. Mistress of Northern America, the future mistress of India, claiming as her own the empire of the seas, Britain suddenly towered high above the nations whose position in a single continent doomed them to comparative insignificance in the after history of the world. The war indeed was hardly ended when a consciousness of the destinies that lay before the English people showed itself in the restlessness with which our seamen penetrated into far-off seas. The Atlantic was dwindling into a mere strait within the British Empire; but beyond it to the westward lay a reach of waters where the British flag was almost unknown. In the year which followed the Peace of Paris two English ships were sent on a cruise of discovery to the Straits of Magellan; three years later Captain Wallis reached the coral reefs of Tahiti; and in 1768 Captain Cook traversed the Pacific from end to end, and wherever he touched, in New Zealand, in Australia, he claimed the soil for the English Crown, and opened a new world for the expansion of the English race. Statesmen and people alike felt the change in their country's attitude. In the words of Burke, the Parliament of Britain claimed "an imperial character in which as from the throne of heaven she superintends all the several inferior legislatures, and guides and controls them all, without annihilating any." Its people, steeped in the commercial ideas of the

Britain's rise to Empire.

Voyages and discoveries

time, saw in the growth of their vast possessions, the monopoly of whose trade was reserved to the mother country, a source of boundless wealth. The trade with America alone was in 1772 nearly equal to what England carried on with the whole world at the beginning of the century. To guard and preserve so vast and lucrative a dominion became from this moment not only the aim of British statesmen but the resolve of the British people.

The American trade.

[In 1762, England declares war on Spain; helps Portugal to defeat the Spanish invasion of that kingdom and captures Havana and Manila. Peter III. of Russia is murdered by his wife, Catharine, and the Orloffs. In 1763, Niebuhr visits Arabia and Persia.]

PROSECUTION OF JOHN WILKES AND PASSING OF THE STAMP ACT

(A.D. 1763—1766)

JOHN RICHARD GREEN

GRENVILLE'S one aim was to enforce the supremacy of Parliament over subject as over king. He therefore struck fiercely at the new force of opinion which had just shown its power in the fall of Bute. The opinion of the country no sooner found itself unrepresented in Parliament than it sought an outlet in the press. In spite of the removal of the censorship after the Revolution, the press had been slow to attain any political influence. Under the first two Georges its progress had been hindered by the absence of great topics for discussion, the worthlessness of the writers, and, above all, the lethargy of the time. It was, in fact, not till the accession of George the Third that the impulse which Pitt had given to the national spirit, and the rise of a keener interest in politics, raised the press into a political power. The nation found in it a court of appeal from the Houses of Parliament. The journals became organs for that outburst of popular

Progress of the Press.

hatred which drove Lord Bute from office; and in the *North Briton* John Wilkes led the way by denouncing the Cabinet and the Peace with peculiar bitterness, and venturing to attack the hated minister by name. Wilkes was a worthless profligate, but he had a remarkable faculty of enlisting popular sympathy on his side, and by a singular irony of fortune he became the chief instrument in bringing about three of the greatest advances which our Constitution has ever made. He woke the nation to a conviction of the need for Parliamentary reform by his defence of the rights of constituencies against the despotism of the House of Commons. He took the lead in the struggle which put an end to the secrecy of Parliamentary proceedings. He was the first to establish the right of the press to discuss public affairs. In his attack on the ministry of Lord Bute, however, he was simply an organ of the general discontent. It was, indeed, his attack which more than all else determined Bute to withdraw from office. But Grenville was of stouter stuff than the court favorite, and his administration was hardly re-formed when he struck at the growing opposition to Parliament by a blow at its leader. In "Number 45," of the *North Briton,* Wilkes had censured the speech from the throne at the opening of Parliament, and a "general warrant," by the Secretary of State, was issued against the "authors, printers, and publishers of this seditious

John Wilkes.

"Number 45."

libel." Under this warrant, forty-nine persons were seized for a time; and, in spite of his privilege as a member of Parliament, Wilkes himself was sent to the Tower. The arrest, however, was so utterly illegal that he was at once released by the Court of Common Pleas; but he was immediately prosecuted for libel. While the paper which formed the subject for prosecution was still before the courts of justice, it was condemned by the House of Commons as a "false, scandalous, and seditious libel." The House of Lords at the same time voted a pamphlet, found among Wilkes's papers, to be blasphemous, and advised a prosecution. Wilkes fled to France, and was, in 1764, expelled from the House of Commons. But the assumption of an arbitrary judicial power by both Houses, and the system of terror which Grenville put in force against the press by issuing two hundred injunctions against different journals, roused a storm of indignation throughout the country. Every street resounded with cries of "Wilkes and Liberty." It was soon clear that opinion had been imbittered rather than silenced by the blow at Wilkes; and six years later, the failure of the prosecution directed against an anonymous journalist named "Junius" for his Letter to the King, established the right of the press to criticise the conduct not of ministers or Parliament only, but of the sovereign himself.

Wilkes expelled.

The same narrowness of view, the same honesty of purpose, the same obstinacy of temper, were shown by Grenville in a yet more important struggle, a struggle with the American Colonies. Pitt had waged war with characteristic profusion, and he had defrayed the cost of the war by enormous loans. At the time of the Peace of Paris, the public debt stood at a hundred and forty millions. The first need, therefore, which met Bute after the conclusion of the Peace, was that of making provision for the new burdens which the nation had incurred; and as these had been partly incurred in the defence of the American Colonies, it was the general opinion of Englishmen that the Colonies should bear a share of them. In this opinion Bute and the King concurred. But their plans went further than mere taxation. The new minister declared himself resolved on a rigorous execution of the Navigation laws, laws by which a monoply of American trade was secured to the mother country, on the raising of a revenue within the Colonies for the discharge of the debt, and, above all, on impressing upon the colonists a sense of their dependence upon Britain. The direct trade between America and the French or Spanish West Indian islands had hitherto been fettered by prohibitory duties, but these had been easily evaded by a general system of smuggling. The duties were now reduced, but the reduced duties were rigorously ex-

Grenville's obstinacy.

The Navigation laws

acted, and a considerable naval force was despatched to the American coast with a view of suppressing the clandestine trade with the foreigner. The revenue which was expected from this measure was to be supplemented by an internal Stamp Tax, a tax on all legal documents issued within the Colonies. The plans of Bute had fallen to the ground on his retirement from office. But Grenville had fully concurred in the financial part, at least, of Bute's designs; and, now that he found himself at the head of a strong administration, he proceeded to carry out the plans which had been devised for the purpose of raising both an external and an internal revenue from America. One of his first steps was to suppress, by a rigid enforcement of the Navigation laws, the contraband trade which had grown up between American ports and the adjacent Spanish islands. Harsh and unwise as these measures seemed, the colonists owned their legality; and their resentment only showed itself in a pledge to use no British manufactures till the restrictions were relaxed. But the next scheme of the Minister—his proposal to introduce internal taxation within the bounds of the Colonies themselves by reviving the project of an excise or stamp duty, which Walpole's good sense had rejected—was of another order from his schemes for suppressing the contraband traffic. Unlike the system of the Navigation Acts, it was a gigantic change in

The Stamp Act.

Contraband trade

the whole actual relations of England and its Colonies. They met it, therefore, in another spirit. Taxation and representation, they asserted, went hand in hand. America had no representatives in the British Parliament. The representatives of the colonists met in their own colonial assemblies, and all save the Pennsylvanians protested strongly against the interference of Parliament with their right of self-taxation. Massachusetts marked accurately the position she took. "Prohibitions of trade are neither equitable nor just; but the power of taxing is the grand barrier of British liberty. If that is once broken down, all is lost." The distinction was accepted by the assembly of every colony; and it was with their protest that they despatched Benjamin Franklin, who had risen from his position of a working printer, in Philadelphia, to high repute among scientific discoverers, as their agent to England. In England, however, Franklin found few who recognized the distinction which the colonists had drawn. Grenville had no mind to change his plans without an assurance, which Franklin could not give, of a union of the Colonies to tax themselves; and the Stamp Act was passed through both Houses with less opposition than a turnpike bill.

Representation and taxation.

Franklin's mission, 1765.

The Stamp Act was hardly passed when an insult offered to the Princess Dowager, by the exclusion of her name from a Regency Act,

brought to a head the quarrel which had long been growing between the ministry and the King. George again offered power to William Pitt. But Pitt stood absolutely alone. The one friend who remained to him, his brother-in-law, Lord Temple, refused to aid in an attempt to construct a Cabinet; and he felt himself too weak, when thus deserted, to hold his ground in any ministerial combination with the Whigs. The King turned for help to the main body of the Whigs, now headed by the Marquis of Rockingham. The weakness of the ministry which Rockingham formed in July, 1765, was seen in its slowness to deal with American affairs. Franklin had seen no other course for the Colonies, when the obnoxious Acts were passed, but that of submission. But submission was the last thing the colonists dreamed of. Everywhere through New England riots broke out on the news of the arrival of the stamped paper; and the frightened collectors resigned their posts. Northern and Southern States were drawn together by the new danger. The assembly of Virginia was the first to formally deny the right of the British Parliament to meddle with internal taxation, and to demand the repeal of the acts. Massachusetts not only adopted the denial and the demand as its own, but proposed a Congress of delegates from all the colonial assemblies to provide for common and united action; and in October, 1765, this

The Rockingham Ministry.

The Colonial Congress.

Congress met to repeat the protest and petition of Virginia. The news of its assembly reached England at the end of the year, and at once called Pitt to the front when the Houses met in the spring of 1766. As a minister, he had long since rejected a similar scheme for taxing the colonies. He had been ill and absent from Parliament when the Stamp Act was passed, but he adopted to the full the constitutional claim of America. He gloried in a resistance which was denounced in Parliament as rebellion. "In my opinion," he said, "this kingdom has no right to lay a tax on the Colonies. . . . America is obstinate! America is almost in open rebellion! Sir, I rejoice that America has resisted. Three millions of people so dead to all the feelings of liberty as voluntarily to submit to be slaves, would have been fit instruments to make slaves of the rest."

[In 1763, France surrenders nearly all her American possessions, and the Mississippi is fixed as the western boundary. In 1765, Blackstone publishes his *Commentaries* on the laws of England. In 1767, Clive leaves India, which falls into confusion until Warren Hastings arrives. In 1768, France buys Corsica from Genoa. Maria Theresa gives up all claim to Silesia, the Pope confiscates Parma. Civil war breaks out in Poland, and war between Turkey and Russia.]

COOK'S AUSTRALIAN DISCOVERIES

(A.D. 1768—1771)

ALBERT HASTINGS MARKHAM

IN spite of the numerous voyages that had been made to the great southern continent, our knowledge of the coast of Terra Australis was very incomplete and very limited, when Captain James Cook sailed on his first voyage of discovery in 1768. The western coast of Australia was then known as New Holland; it had been more frequently sighted and visited by navigators than any other part of the continent. The east coast was entirely unknown. New Guinea to the north, and Van Diemen's Land to the south, were believed to be portions of one and the same continent, the latter being supposed to be a prolongation of the land discovered by Pieter Nuyts to the southward. Even the Australia del Espiritu Santo of Quiros was, if in existence, supposed to belong to the mainland. All was vagueness, uncertainty, and conjecture. It remained for our great navigator, Cook, to lift the veil of doubt and uncertainty which still enshrouded the great southern

Vague knowledge of Australia

land, and by his ability and energy to give to his country a continent that in riches and importance is now second to no empire in the world.

Captain Cook sailed from England in the *Endeavour* on the 26th August, 1768; the principal object of the expedition which he commanded being a voyage to the South Sea for the purpose of observing the transit of Venus. This being accomplished, the *Endeavour* was ordered to prosecute discoveries in the Southern Hemisphere, and make a more accurate examination of the Pacific Ocean. Cook was accompanied by Sir Joseph Banks, afterward president of the Royal Society, a great scholar and an ardent investigator in the pursuit of science, and by Dr. Solander, an accomplished botanist and naturalist. Cook's first voyage.

The transit of Venus having been satisfactorily observed on the 3d of June, 1769, at Otaheite, the *Endeavour,* after a stay of three months at that island, sailed on the 13th of the following month, and after cruising for a short time among the islands which were named by Cook the Society Group, a course was shaped for New Zealand, which was sighted at daylight on October the 6th. On the 8th the ship dropped anchor in a large bay, which received the name of Poverty Bay, on account of the inhospitable, not to say hostile, reception the expedition met with The Society Islands.

at the hands of the natives. Some months were profitably employed in the exploration of the coast of this little known land, during which New Zealand was completely circumnavigated, and found to consist of two large islands; after much valuable and important geographical work had been accomplished, the *Endeavour* sailed to the westward, bent on further exploration and research. On the morning of the 18th of April, 1770, land was observed by the first lieutenant, and was named, after him, Point Hicks. Thence Captain Cook sailed northward, and rounding the southeast point of Australia, which he called Cape Howe, he anchored in a safe and capacious bayou on the 26th, which was subsequently named Botany Bay, in consequence of the great variety and richness of the plants collected there by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander. Here they remained for ten days, engaged in scientific pursuits and in endeavoring to conciliate the natives, many of whom were induced to come down to the ship.

Botany Bay.

Sailing on the 6th of May, they proceeded to the northward, discovering and naming Port Jackson, on the shores of which is now situated the important city of Sydney, the capital of New South Wales. Moreton Bay, at the head of which now stands Brisbane, the capital of Queensland, was also discovered and named.

New South Wales.

During this voyage, Captain Cook sailed

along the entire eastern coast of Australia, which he named New South Wales, taking possession of it in the name of his Majesty King George the Third. Hitherto the *Endeavour* had been safely navigated among dangerous shoals and hidden rocks, and other unknown dangers, with a surprising immunity from disaster. This exemption from casualties was, however, not to last; for at about eleven o'clock on the night of the 10th of June, 1770, the ship struck heavily on a rock, and remained immovable. The situation was certainly not a pleasant one, for the loss of the ship meant the possible loss of all on board, as the chances of saving themselves by their boats alone, so many thousands of miles from any place where they could hope to obtain relief and succor, were very small indeed. Everything was, however, done that skill and experience could suggest in order to extricate the ship from her perilous condition, but for some time without avail, and she continued to beat with great violence on the rocks upon which she had struck. By the dim light of the moon that prevailed, they could see portions of the false keel, and other parts of the bottom of their good ship, that had been torn and wrenched off by the sharp, jagged edges of the rocks, floating around them, and it seemed extremely improbable that she would hold together for another tide. Fortunately there was but little wind, and as the tide fell,

The *Endeavour* on the rocks.

the ship settled down more quietly in her rocky cradle. Every effort was then made to lighten her; six guns were thrown overboard, as well as a quantity of iron and stone ballast and other stores, and the water was also started. When daylight broke, they found the ship was making a considerable amount of water, which the pumps were unable to control. The great fear now was that as the tide rose, the ship might float off, and immediately sink in deeper water; but, to their great surprise, and no less gratification, they found when she floated, that not only were their fears groundless, but also that the pumps gained considerably on the leak. In order to obtain this advantage, however, the men had to remain unceasingly at work. The ship was then brought in close to the land, and anchored in a snug little harbor at the mouth of a river, which received the name of Endeavour River, and here she was thoroughly overhauled and repaired. The point of land in the immediate vicinity of the scene of the disaster was called Point Tribulation, to commemorate the unfortunate event. It was during the time the ship was in Endeavour River that kangaroos were first seen, killed, and eaten. The repairs being effected, a start was once more made; and sailing through Torres Strait, though not without experiencing many dangers and no few difficulties, Cook returned to England, passing the Lizard on the 10th of

A happy deliverance

The first kangaroos.

June, 1771, thus completing his first voyage of discovery in the South Seas, during which time he circumnavigated New Zealand, sailed along the entire east coast of Australia, and performed altogether one of the most remarkable voyages on record.

First voyage ended.

THE INVENTION OF THE STEAM-ENGINE

(A.D. 1768)

CHARLES KNIGHT

IN the year 1757, over the door of a staircase opening from the quadrangle of the college of Glasgow, was exhibited a board, inscribed "James Watt, Mathematical-Instrument Maker to the University." In a room of small dimensions sat a young man in his twenty-first year, filing and polishing quadrants and sectors, to sell for his livelihood. He had come in his eighteenth year from his paternal home, at Greenock, where his father carried on the business of a ship-chandler, to endeavor to learn the art of a mathematical-instrument maker; but he could find no one in Glasgow capable of instructing him. By the advice of a kinsman of his mother, who was a Professor in the Glasgow University, he went to London with the same object. For a year he worked with intense application in a shop in Finch Lane, Cornhill; but his health failing, he returned to Glasgow, having become a skilful mechanic, and possessing the far greater advantage of a sound mathemati-

Watt's early struggles.

cal education. He endeavored to establish a shop in that city. The worshipful Company of Hammermen,—in that spirit of exclusiveness which the lapse of a century has scarcely eradicated, where Guilds and Corporations have any remnant of antiquated privileges,— resolved to prevent James Watt exercising his art. He was, however, employed within the precincts of the University to repair some astronomical instruments; and several of the professors took the ingenious young man under their protection, and gave him a workshop within their walls. Here he soon attracted the notice, and received the kind attentions, of men whose names will be held ever in veneration—Adam Smith, Robert Simson, and Joseph Black. To these eminent philosophers even the members of the Company of Hammermen would lowly bow; as they bowed to the magnates of Glasgow, the tobacco lords who walked in scarlet cloaks and bushy wigs apart at the Cross, and to any one of whom no tradesman dared speak till he caught the great man's eye, and was invited by him to come across the street and impart his humble request. Watt had an ardent friend in a college student, John Robison, about the same age with himself, who had also a genius for scientific pursuits. He has recounted that when he first went into Watt's little shop, and expected to see only a workman, he was surprised to find the quadrant-maker his supe-

Guild opposition.

Robison's tribute.

rior in philosophy. But Robison left the University; went to sea as a midshipman; and was in the boat on the St. Lawrence with Wolfe, on the morning on which the Heights of Abraham were scaled. The friends had conversed about steam-engines before Robison's departure. When the young man returned, in 1763, —having been employed by the Admiralty to take charge of Harrison's chronometer on a voyage to Jamaica, to test its sufficiency for determining the longitude of a ship at sea,— he found that his old companion, in the college workshop, had been making more rapid advances in scientific attainments than himself; and had been long engaged in trying experiments in the construction of a steam-engine, upon principles different from that in common use. He had lighted upon the same principle as that now employed in a high-pressure engine. In that year, of 1763, a small model of Newcomen's engine was put into the charge of Watt to repair. The imperfections of that invention, known as "the atmospheric engine," were evident to him; and he long labored unsuccessfully to discover how its defects could be remedied. The radical defect was, that three times as much heat as was necessary for the action of the machine was lost. If one-fourth of the heat could generate an equal amount of available steam, the saving of fuel alone would ensure the adoption of an engine constructed to produce such an impor-

The "Atmospheric engine."

tant economy. Newcomen's machine was used in draining mines, in raising water to turn water-wheels, and in blowing furnaces for iron-smelting. But its expense of working was enormous. Its construction was clumsy and imperfect. We may imagine Adam Smith telling Watt the story which he has so well told in the *Wealth of Nations,* of the first fire-engine; in which "a boy was constantly employed to open and shut alternately the communication between the boiler and the cylinder, according as the piston either ascended or descended;" and how the boy, wanting to play, found out that "by tying a string from the handle of the valve which opened this communication to another part of the machine, the valve would open and shut without his assistance." Improvements such as this had been accomplished by accidental observation. What improvements might not be effected by careful examination, grounded upon scientific knowledge? The experimental philosopher was still working in the dark, when he discovered that water converted into steam would heat about six times its own weight of water at 47° or 48° to 212°. He mentioned this fact to Dr. Black, who then explained to him his doctrine of latent heat, with which Watt had been previously unacquainted. He says of himself, that "he stumbled upon one of the material facts by which that beautiful theory is supported." Among

Adam Smith's story.

Black's theory of latent heat.

Sir John Herschel on Black's theory.

the principal features of scientific progress at this period, Sir John Herschel includes "the development of the doctrine of latent heat by Black, with its train of important consequences, including the scientific theory of the steam-engine." The ceaseless preparatory labor of thought was now to produce its results. In a solitary walk, Watt solved the great problem upon which he had been so long intent. The necessity of working for his bread, while he eagerly desired to bring his ideas into a practical shape, was still forced upon him. But he saw his way. The invention was complete in his mind. To have a model constructed was a work of great difficulty. He had no capital to employ in engaging better workmen than the blacksmiths and tinmen of Glasgow. He struggled against these difficulties till he found a zealous and powerful ally in Dr. Roebuck. At length, in May, 1768, Watt had the happiness of congratulating his friend on the achievements of their mutual hopes: "I sincerely wish you joy of this successful result, and hope it will make you some return for the obligations I ever will remain under to you."

Dr. Roebuck's aid.

Watt meets Boulton.

It was agreed that a patent should be taken out; and Watt repaired to London to accomplish this business. On his way thither he had an interview, at Birmingham, with Matthew Boulton, who desired to join in the speculation. This eminent manufacturer, in every

quality of sterling integrity, of generous feelings, of skill in organization, of prudent enterprise, was worthy of being the associate of a man of genius like Watt, who was timid, and sometimes desponding. Their partnership was, unfortunately, deferred till 1773, for Roebuck would not admit Boulton to a share of the patent, except upon terms to which the prosperous and ingenious proprietor of the works at Soho could not agree. Watt, meanwhile, had to maintain himself by the superintendence of several canals then in course of construction. The employment was disagreeable to him. He had no advantage from working his patent, for his partner, Roebuck, was engaged in too many losing undertakings to advance more capital. At length that partner, in whose misfortune Watt deeply sympathized, agreed to sell his property in the patent to Boulton. In 1774, Watt went to Birmingham to superintend the construction of his machines; and he wrote to his father, "The fire-engine I have invented is now going, and answers much better than any other that has yet been made." There was very soon a change in the character of Boulton's manufactory. Dr. Johnson kept a Diary of a tour in Wales, in 1774. On the 20th of September is this entry: "We went to Boulton's, who, with great civility, led us through his shops. I could not distinctly see his enginery—Twelve dozen of buttons for three shillings—Spoons

Roebuck sells out.

Watt goes to Birmingham.

struck at once." In 1776, Johnson and Boswell made an excursion to Oxford, and also saw Birmingham, of which Boswell has this record: "Mr. Hector was so good as to accompany me to see the great works of Mr. Boulton, at a place which he has called Soho, about two miles from Birmingham, which the very ingenious proprietor showed me himself to the best advantage. I wished Johnson had been with us; for it was a scene which I should have been glad to contemplate by his light. The vastness and the contrivance of some of the machinery would have matched his mighty mind. I shall never forget Mr. Boulton's expression to me,—'I sell here, sir, what all the world desires to have—Power!'"

Boulton's works.

It is unnecessary, for our purpose, that we should pursue the history of the final establishment of the steam-engine of Watt to be the great operative power of the larger industries of Britain. It quickly superseded Newcomen's machines in draining the Cornish tin and copper mines. It multiplied cotton-mills in the towns of Lancashire and of Scotland, without reference to the previous necessity of choosing localities on the banks of the Irwell or the Derwent, the Tweed or the Clyde. It was blowing the iron furnaces of Dudley, and hammering steel at Sheffield. It was forging anchors and impelling block-machinery at Portsmouth. Yet it was ten years before Boulton and Watt derived any profit from the

Establishment of the steam-engine.

discovery. They had to struggle, in the first instance, against the common prejudice which attaches to every new invention. All the business sagacity of Boulton was necessary to encourage its use by the most moderate price; or by stipulating only for a royalty upon the amount of fuel which it saved, charging nothing for the engine. The partners had to contend, in actions at law, against unscrupulous pirates. But Parliament, in 1775, had granted an extension of the patent, and the reward to the inventor and his admirable associate would come in time. They would be repaid, however tardily, by the pecuniary fruits of their skill and perseverance, before the invention was thrown open to the world. But even before that period what mighty effects had been produced upon British industry by this crowning triumph of an enterprising age! Without its aid the energy of the people had more than counterbalanced the waste of the national resources by an absolute government in a foolish and unjust war. The steam-engine of the "Mathematical-Instrument Maker to the University of Glasgow" gave a new impulse to the same energy in another war against a gigantic military despotism, wielded by a man originally as humble as himself—a student of the Military School of Brienne. Captain Sword and Captain Steam were to engage in a struggle not less arduous than that of "Captain Sword and Captain Pen." The one was

Prejudice and piracy.

Captain Sword and Captain Steam.

to lay prosperous cities in ashes; the other was to build up new cities in desolate places. The one was to close the havens of ancient commerce; the other was to freight ships with products of such surpassing excellence and cheapness, that no tyrannous edicts could exclude them from oppressed nations. The one was to derange every effort of Continental industry; the other was to harmonize every form of British labor and invention, by lending to each an intensity and a concentration previously unknown. The one was to attempt the subjugation of the intellect by brute force; the other was to complete "the dominion of mind over the most refractory qualities of matter":

The value of Watt's steam-engine.

"Engine of Watt! unrivall'd is thy sway.
Compared with thine, what is the tyrant's power?
His might destroys, while thine creates and saves.
Thy triumphs live and grow, like fruit and flower,
But his are writ in blood, and read on graves." *

[In 1769, the Letters of Junius bitterly attack the English King and ministry. Russia defeats the Turks and occupies Moldavia and Bucharest. Portugal loses its last foothold in Morocco. Wedgwood opens potteries in Staffordshire. In 1770, Struensee attains supreme power in Denmark by the support of the Queen and introduces many reforms.]

* Elliott.—*Steam at Sheffield.*

PARTITION OF POLAND

(A.D. 1770—1777)

CHARLOTTE M. YONGE

FRANCE obtained the island of Corsica, hitherto the discontented possession of the Republic of Genoa. After French troops had several times assisted to quell revolts, the Genoese power finally sold the isle to Louis XV., but the islanders struggled hard for independence under their leader, Pasquale Paoli, and there was a seven years' war before they were reduced, and he took refuge in England. The most important consequence of this acquisition was that a certain obscure Corsican family, named Buonaparte, were thus attached to the fortunes of France.

Corsica sold to Louis XV.

Choiseul drew the alliance with Austria closer by a marriage between the young Dauphin and Marie Antoinette, the youngest daughter of Maria Theresa, a lovely, engaging, volatile girl of fourteen, full of high spirits, beneath which were sound principles to come to her help in time of need.

The marriage of the Dauphin was the last negotiation conducted by Choiseul. The King

Marriage of the Dauphin.

was rendered jealous of him by being told that he consulted him too little, sent him into exile to his own estates, and took the Duc d'Aiguillon and the Chancellor Maupéou as his advisers. Choiseul had always been attentive to the affairs of Poland, not only because the royal family were nearly connected with it, but because he was convinced that the unruly Sclavonic kingdom was a valuable check upon the growing power of Russia and of Prussia. His fall, therefore, smoothed the way for the designs that were being secretly matured between Frederick and Catherine, for committing one of the most wicked acts of aggression perpetrated in all modern times.

Prussia and Russia in alliance.

Frederick sent his brother Heinrich to confer with Catherine at Petersburg, where he was entertained with the utmost splendor, and all the Czaritza's improvements were displayed to him. The court was very unlike that of Berlin, where a stern, plain, heathen sort of morality prevailed, while at Petersburg the most scandalous profligacy was hardly regarded as matter of shame; and yet, for the sake of gratifying the people, the Czaritza made an outward profession of religion. She showed how, with the most depraved conduct, there can yet be a strong intellect, great taste for art and literature, and a clear-sighted desire to improve and instruct others. The designs of Peter the Great were carried out by her, while her palace was the scene of almost

Catherine's magnificence.

Eastern magnificence and luxury. She displayed all her splendors before Prince Heinrich, but throughout he preserved the most imperturbable gravity, even when at a masquerade, a lively Frenchman appeared before him as a green parrot, fluttering, hopping, and chattering, and finally, calling out to his face, "Henri! Henri!"

In private Heinrich accomplished his mission, and it was agreed that Poland should be divided between the Czaritza and the King. "I will undertake to frighten Turkey, and to flatter England," said Catherine. "You must buy over Austria that she may amuse France."

The frightening of Turkey was done on a large scale. Mustafa III. had declared war against Russia, and Catherine attacked him at once by land and sea. She had paid great attention to her navy, into which she had invited many English officers, and she had a large fleet both at Cronstadt and Archangel. This she caused to sail round into the Mediterranean, and attack the Turks in the Archipelago, where she had a secret understanding with many of the Greek Christians of the isles. Many of the islands, and some of the Peloponnesian cities, fell into the hands of the Russians, and the Turkish fleet, coming out to oppose them, was defeated near the isle of Scio, and chased into the bay of Tchesme, where, by a gallant exploit of the English Vice-Admiral Elphinstone, four fire-ships

Catherine attacks Turkey.

Destruction of the Turkish navy.

were sent by night among the vessels, crowded into a narrow bay, and burnt the whole Turkish navy, so that the Russian fleet commanded the whole of the Turkish seas, and laid siege to the isle of Lemnos.

Gazi Hassan's success.

Gazi Hassan, an adventurer born on the borders of Persia, who had been a boatman, a chief at Algiers, and a prisoner at Constantinople, but throughout all a devout Mussulman, proposed to the Grand Vizier to attack the Russian fleet with four thousand of the lowest rank at Constantinople, whom he undertook to arm with sword and pistol, and to transport to Lemnos in boats or rafts, without artillery. The Grand Vizier consented, believing the scheme utterly impracticable, but glad to be rid of four thousand of the rabble. However, the gallant Hassan landed unperceived, led his troops upon the enemy with a furious onset, and drove them to their ships in such a panic that they weighed anchor and raised the siege. He was made Capidan Pasha, and so well maintained the honor of his flag, that the Russians were finally obliged to sail back to the Baltic, while the Turks wreaked vengeance in horrible massacres of the unfortunate Greeks of the Morea and the Isles.

Massacre of the Greeks.

At the same time, General Romanzoff attacked the Grand Vizier on the banks of the Danube, gained a great victory at Kagul, and received the submission of the three great

provinces of Wallachia, Moldavia, and Bessarabia.

These being the close neighbors of Austria, that power was alarmed by the progress of Russia, and offered mediation. This was the time for Frederick to play his part. He had to deal with Joseph II., over whom his ascendency of character had gained great influence. Joseph admired him so enthusiastically that, under the name of Count Falkenstein, he had come to Neisse, in Silesia, to pay him a visit, and had said to him, "Silesia no longer exists for the House of Austria." So intimate had they become that Frederick even asked Joseph how his mother had approved of his opinions, to which he answered that she blamed and pitied him, but quite maternally, and trusting that he would change. He termed Frederick "the King, my Master"; and Frederick had his palace of Sans Souci hung with his portraits, calling him a young man of whom he could not see too much. As at this first meeting Frederick dressed himself and his suite in the white Austrian uniform, lest their own might excite unpleasant reminiscences; when they met the next year at Neustadt, Joseph and his train came in the blue of Prussia, saying, "Here are a troop of recruits for your Majesty."

Joseph's admiration of Frederick.

At this interview, Joseph was drawn into the nefarious scheme, on the promise of a third part of the spoil; but the Empress

Joseph favors partition of Poland.

Maria Theresa's disapproval

Queen, on hearing of it, protested strongly against the project, but in vain, though she wrote, "When all my lands were invaded, and I knew not where I could in quiet give birth to my child, I firmly relied on my own good right, and on the help of God. Now, when public right cries out to Heaven against us, and when against us are justice and sound reason, I own that never in my whole life did I feel so anxious, and that I am ashamed to let myself be seen. What an example we shall set the whole world if for a wretched piece of Poland we give up honor and fair fame! I plainly perceive that I stand alone, and am no longer *en vigueur,* therefore I let things take their course, though not without the greatest grief."

To her objections, Frederick's sneering remark was, "I would as soon undertake to write the Jewish history in madrigals as to make three sovereigns agree, especially when two of them are women."

The treaty.

The treaty then was made for dividing Poland: giving Austria the Lordship of Zips, which was said once to have belonged to Hungary; to Prussia, a district that had once been under the Teutonic Knights; and to Russia, all Livonia, the district from the Beresina to the Niemen. On the edge of the copy of the treaty, the Empress Queen wrote, "*Placet,* because so many great and learned men will have it so; but after I am dead and gone, peo-

ple will see the consequences of thus breaking through all that has hitherto been held holy and just. M. Th."

In vain, she protested. The miserable kingdom, divided against itself, was in a state both to deserve and invite the spoiler. Stanislaus and his Diet had been quarrelling ever since his election, chiefly on account of the disputes between Roman Catholics and Protestants, or persons of the Greek Church. The Russian power, to which Stanislaus was devoted, was exercised in favor of the Dissidents, as they were called, and this gave great offence to the other party.

Polish dissensions.

In 1771, as King Stanislaus was being driven through the outskirts of Warsaw, at ten o'clock at night, he was attacked by a body of conspirators, who put his attendants to flight, wounded him, and dragged him into the forests; but they seem not to have known what to do next; they tore off the diamond star and crosses from his coat, and then dispersed in small parties through the woods, till the King, being left alone with one man, named Kosinski, persuaded him to repent of the outrage, and to conduct him to a mill, whence he safely returned to his capital.

Warsaw occupied by Russia.

This attack gave the Czaritza a pretext for filling Warsaw with Russian troops, professedly to protect Stanislaus; but the Austrians, fearing to lose the prey, filled Zips likewise with their forces, and, Frederick likewise tak-

ing up arms, the three powers sent in their demands to the Diet of Poland.

Danger and misfortune had inspired neither unity nor patriotism. Some of the nobles were bribed by one power, some by another, and all hated and distrusted the King. They disputed and abused each other and the King, till, gathering dignity from his extremity, Stanislaus threw his hat angrily on the ground, saying, "Gentlemen, I am weary of hearkening to your disputes. To yourselves alone you should attribute your misfortunes. For me, if no more territory should be left me than could be covered by this hat, I should still be your lawful, though unhappy King."

Distrust of Stanislaus.

True as were his words, his connection with Russia was so much distrusted, that there was no attempt to rally round him while yet there might have been time. No help came from elsewhere. England would not break the peace with the continent even to hinder this wicked injustice, and the protest of France only consisted in a disconsolate exclamation of Louis XV., "If Choiseul were here still, I should not suffer this." Treasure, skill, and spirit were all wanting, and so far from aiding others, the French monarchy was drifting on toward ruin.

The Polish Diet yields.

The helpless and distracted Polish Diet yielded, and the once extensive kingdom was reduced to a mere shred, while even that poor remnant was tyrannized over by Catherine,

whose ambassador took every occasion of showing that he looked on Stanislaus rather as an inferior than a sovereign. The worst features of the wretched old constitution were forced upon the Diet, and they were obliged to enact a law against ever again electing a foreign prince, since their oppressors dreaded their being raised up by any external influence.

The Poles who fell under Prussian dominion were much better off than those who were left to themselves, for Frederick set to work vigorously with his improvements—building, cultivating, introducing arts, and raising the condition of the serfs, so that although they made a great outcry at being reformed against their will, their happiness was in the end much increased.

Better condition of the Prussian Poles.

[In 1772, Gustavus of Sweden revokes the constitution and makes himself an absolute monarch and ends the factions of Hats and Caps. The King of Denmark arrests his Queen and Struensee; the latter is executed. Warren Hastings goes to Bengal as governor. Captain Cook sails to explore the Southern Continent and discovers New Caledonia. In 1773, the Society of Jesus is abolished, but continues to exist in Russia and Prussia. A serious rebellion in Russia hinders progress against Turkey.]

DESTRUCTION OF TEA IN BOSTON HARBOR

(A.D. 1773)

CHARLES KNIGHT

IT was Sunday, the 28th of November, 1773, when there sailed into Boston Harbor the English merchant-ship *Dartmouth*, laden with chests of tea belonging to the East India Company. The Act of Parliament which allowed the Treasury to license vessels to export the teas of the Company to the American colonies, free of duty, was the signal for popular gatherings in Boston. Samuel Adams, in the *Boston Gazette,* roused again that feeling of resistance which had partially subsided. The Governor of Massachusetts, in October, wrote to Lord Dartmouth, who had succeeded Lord Hillsborough as Colonial Secretary, that Samuel Adams, "who was the first person that openly, and in any public assembly, declared for a total independence," had "obtained such an ascendency as to direct the town of Boston and the House of Representatives, and consequently the Council, just as he pleases." The East India Company had appointed its consignees in Boston. On the night of the 2d of

Arrival of the *Dartmouth.*

Adams stirs up resistance.

November, summonses were left at the houses of each of these persons, requiring them to appear on a certain day at Liberty Tree, to resign their commissions; and notices were issued desiring the freemen of Boston and of the neighboring towns to assemble at the same place. The consignees did not appear; but a committee of the Assembly traced them to a warehouse, where they were met to consult. They were required not to sell the teas, but to return them to London by the vessels which might bring them. They refused to comply, and were denounced as enemies to their country. Philadelphia had previously compelled the agents of the Company to resign their appointments. Town meetings were held at Boston, when strong resolutions were adopted. In this state of things, on that Sunday, the 28th of November, the first tea-ship arrived. The New England colonists preserved that strict observance of the Sabbath which their Puritan fathers felt the highest of duties. But it was a work of necessity to impede the landing of the tea; and a committee met twice on that Sunday to concert measures. They obtained a promise from Rotch, the commander of the ship *Dartmouth,* that his vessel should not be entered till the following Tuesday. On Monday, the Committee of all the neighboring towns assembled at Boston; and five thousand persons agreed that the tea should be sent back to the place whence it came. "Throw it over-

Demands on the consignees.

Two meetings on Sunday.

board," cried one. The consignees, alarmed at this demonstration, declared that they would not send back the teas, but that they would store them. This proposal was received with scorn; and then the consignees agreed that the teas should not be landed. But there was a legal difficulty. If the rest of the cargo were landed, and the tea not landed, the vessel could not be cleared in Boston, and after twenty days was liable to seizure. Two more ships arrived, and anchored by the side of the *Dartmouth*. The people kept watch night and day to prevent any attempt at landing the teas. Thirteen days after the arrival of the *Dartmouth,* the owner was summoned before the Boston Committee, and told that his vessel and his tea must be taken back to London. It was out of his power to do so, he said. He certainly had not the power; for the passages out of the harbor were guarded by two King's ships, to prevent any vessel going to sea without a license. On the 16th, the revenue officers would have legal authority to take possession of the *Dartmouth*. For three days previous there had been meetings of the Boston Committee; but their journal had only this entry—"No business transacted matter of record."

Two more ships arrive

On the 16th of December, there was a meeting in Boston of seven thousand persons, who resolved that the tea should not be landed. The master of the *Dartmouth* was ordered to

apply to the Governor for a pass, for his vessel to proceed on her return voyage to London. The Governor was at his country house. Many of the leaders had adjourned to a church, to wait his answer. The night had come on when Rotch returned, and announced that the Governor had refused him a pass, because his ship had not cleared. There was no more hesitation. Forty or fifty men, disguised as Mohawks, raised the war-whoop at the porch of the church; went on to the wharf where the three ships lay alongside; took possession of them; and deliberately emptied three hundred and forty chests of tea into the waters of the bay. It was the work of three hours. Not a sound was heard but that of breaking open the chests. The people of Boston went to their rest, as if no extraordinary event had occurred.

The tea is thrown overboard.

On the 27th of January, 1774, the news of this decisive act reached the English Government. On the 29th there was a great meeting of the Lords of the Council, to consider a petition from Massachusetts, for the dismissal of Hutchinson, the Governor, and Oliver, the Lieutenant-Governor. Dr. Franklin appeared before the Council as agent for Massachusetts. He had obtained possession of some private letters written confidentially several years before, in which Hutchinson and Oliver avowed sentiments opposed to what they considered the licentiousness of the Colonists.

Franklin before the Council.

These letters Franklin transmitted to the Assembly at Boston, who voted, by a large majority, that the opinions expressed contemplated the establishment of arbitrary power; and they accordingly petitioned for the removal of the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor. The intelligence from Boston of the destruction of the teas was not likely to propitiate the Council. Franklin was treated with little respect; and Wedderburn, the Solicitor-General, assailed him with a torrent of invective, at which the Lords cheered and laughed. Franklin bore the assaults with perfect equanimity; but from that hour he ceased to be a mediator between Great Britain and the Colonists. The Council reported that the Petition from Massachusetts was "groundless, vexatious, and scandalous." Two days after, Franklin was dismissed from his office of Deputy Postmaster-General. He said to Priestley, who was present at the Council, that he considered the thing for which he had been so insulted as one of the best actions of his life.

His dismissal.

The Parliament had met on the 13th of January. It was the 7th of March when Lord North delivered the King's message relating to "the violent and outrageous proceedings at the town and port of Boston, in the province of Massachusetts Bay, with a view to obstructing the commerce of this kingdom, and upon grounds and pretences immediately subver-

Government plans.

sive of the constitution thereof." There was a debate, of which the most remarkable part was, that when Lord North stated that the proper papers should be ready on the following Friday, Thurlow, the Attorney-General, said, loud enough to reach the ear of the minister, "I never heard anything so impudent; he has no plan yet ready." The one plan which first presented itself—the most unfortunate of all plans—is exhibited in a note of the King to Lord North, dated the 4th of February: "Gen. Gage, though just returned from Boston, expresses his willingness to go back at a day's notice if convenient measures are adopted. He says, They will be lions while we are lambs; but if we take the resolute part, they will undoubtedly prove very meek. Four regiments, sent to Boston, will, he thinks, be sufficient to prevent any disturbance. All men now feel that the fatal compliance in 1766 has increased the pretensions of the Americans to thorough independence." On the 14th of March, Lord North brought in a Bill for removing the Custom House from Boston, and declaring it unlawful, after the 1st of June, to lade or unlade, ship or unship, any goods from any lading-place within the harbor of Boston. There was little opposition to this measure, which was passed in a fortnight, and when sent to the Lords was quickly adopted. Chatham suggested, in a letter to Shelburne, that repara-

The Boston Port Bill.

Chatham's opposition.

tion ought first to be demanded and refused before such a bill could be called just. The letter of Chatham, in which he makes this suggestion, is that of a great statesman, exhibiting the sound qualities of his mind perhaps even more clearly than his impassioned oratory: "The whole of this unhappy business is beset with dangers of the most complicated and lasting nature; and the point of true wisdom for the mother country seems to be in such nice and exact limits (accurately distinguished, and embraced, with a large and generous moderation of spirit), as narrow, short-sighted counsels of state, or over-heated popular debates, are not likely to hit. Perhaps a fatal desire to take advantage of this guilty tumult of the Bostonians, in order to crush the spirit of liberty among the Americans in general, has taken possession of the heart of government."

Coercive measures.

In the "heart of government" there was no place for conciliation. The Boston Port Bill, backed up by military force, was to be followed by other measures of coercion. On the 28th of March, Lord North brought in a Bill for regulating the government of Massachusetts Bay. "I propose," he said, "in this Bill to take the executive power from the hands of the democratic part of government." The proposition went, in many important particulars, to annul the Charter granted to the province by William III. The council was to be

appointed by the Crown; the magistrates were to be nominated by the Governor. This Bill also passed, after ineffectual debate. A third Bill enacted, that during the next three years, the Governor of Massachusetts might, if it was thought that an impartial trial of any person could not be secured in that Colony, send him for trial in another Colony; or to Great Britain, if it were thought that no fair trial could be obtained in the Colonies. The object of the Bill was distinctly stated by Lord North—"Unless such a bill should pass into a law the executive power will be unwilling to act, thinking they will not have a fair trial without it." Colonel Barré strongly remonstrated against such a measure. The Bill was to protect the military power in any future encounters with the people. The King rejoices "in the feebleness and futility of opposition." The British people were not allowed to be free judges of the great question at issue. On the discussion of the Bostonian Bills, Walpole says, "The doors of both Houses were carefully locked—a symptom of the spirit with which they were dictated." Perhaps if the words of Edmund Burke had gone forth to the world hot from his lips, instead of oozing out in a pamphlet, the people might have thought seriously of the crisis which called forth his eloquent philosophy. Lord Carmarthen, as Walpole records, produced a sensation on his first appearance in the House

Star Chamber methods.

of Commons. The young Lord's speech prompted one of the most splendid manifestations of Burke's genius: "A noble lord who spoke some time ago is full of the fire of ingenuous youth; and when he has modelled the ideas of a lively imagination by further experience, he will be an ornament to his country in either house. He has said that the Americans are our children, and how can they revolt against their parent? He says, if they are not free in their present state, England is not free; because Manchester, and other considerable places, are not represented. So then, because some towns in England are not represented, America is to have no representative at all. They are 'our children'; but when children ask for bread, we are not to give a stone. Is it because the natural resistance of things, and the various mutations of time, hinder our government, or any scheme of government, from being any more than a sort of approximation to the right, is it therefore that the Colonies are to recede from it infinitely? When this child of ours wishes to assimilate to its parent, and to reflect with a true filial resemblance the beauteous countenance of British liberty; are we to turn to them the shameful parts of our constitution? are we to give them our weakness for their strength; our opprobrium for their glory; and the slough of slavery, which we are not able to work off, to serve them for their freedom?"

Burke's speech.

The dangers of the country called forth Chatham from his retirement. Walpole describes him making his appearance in the House of Lords, on the 26th of May: "Lord Chatham, who was a comedian even to his dress, to excuse his late absence by visible tokens of the gout, had his legs wrapped in black velvet boots, and, as if in mourning for the King of France, he leaned on a crutch covered with black likewise." Walpole says, "He made a long feeble harangue." There are portions of the harangue which throw a doubt upon the taste or candor of the journalist.

Chatham supports the colonists.

The spirit of the New Englanders took the same course of thought as that of the first orator of the mother country. In proposing a General Congress of the several Houses of Assembly, John Hancock exclaimed, "Remember from whom you sprang." This was said on the 5th of March—two days before Lord North had delivered to Parliament the Royal Message which was the prelude to the measures which the British Government believed would ensure the submission of the Colonists. The people of Massachusetts, in their proceedings of the 16th of December, "had passed the river and cut away the bridge." Lord Mansfield called upon the Peers to delay not in carrying the Boston Port Bill: "Pass this Act, and you will have crossed the Rubicon." Before the men of Massachu-

Spirit of the New Englanders

setts knew of the severities that were hanging over them, the most violent of their leaders, Samuel Adams, had officially drawn up instructions for Franklin, the agent for the Colony, which concluded with these words: "Their old good-will and affection for the parent country are not totally lost. If she returns to her former moderation and good-humor, their affection will revive. They wish for nothing more than a permanent union with her upon the condition of equal liberty. This is all they have been contending for; and nothing short of this will or ought to satisfy them." The same language was held in 1774 by George Washington.

Colonial Tories.

But it must not be assumed that the universal opinion of the colonial communities was that of Samuel Adams or John Hancock, or even of George Washington or Thomas Jefferson. There was a large party in every province who were avowed Royalists; and who gradually acquired the name of Tories. They were not wanting in encouragement from England. They had the support of a preponderating majority in Parliament, which sanguine persons thought would overawe the malcontents. "Nothing can be more calculated," writes the King to Lord North, "to bring the Americans to a due submission than the very handsome majority that at the outset appears in both Houses." This was written on the 22d of January, 1775, a new Parlia-

ment having met on the previous 29th of November. The American Royalists would not lack private instigations from individuals of eminence in England, to oppose their rebellious countrymen. The conversational opinions of the famous Dr. Johnson might reach them, even before they read his pamphlet, *Taxation no Tyranny*. They might be told that Edward Gibbon, of rising literary reputation, held that the right was on the side of the mother country. The future great historian was returned to Parliament in 1774, and was prepared to speak on the American question, if he could have overcome "timidity fortified by pride." Whatever may be now the prevailing sentiment upon the colonial quarrel, we can not shut our eyes to the fact that the controversy was one that involved great principles, and called forth the highest energies of great intellects. On either side of the Atlantic was manifested the grandeur of the Anglo-Saxon mind. Chatham, in 1775, paid a deserved tribute to the qualities displayed in the first American Congress: "When your lordships look at the papers transmitted us from America—when you consider their decency, firmness, and wisdom—you can not but respect their cause, and wish to make it your own. For myself I must declare and avow, that in all my reading and observation —(I have read Thucydides, and have studied and admired the master-states of the world)

Taxation no Tyranny.

Chatham's tribute.

—that for solidity of reasoning, force of sagacity, and wisdom of conclusion, under such a complication of difficult circumstances, no nation or body of men can stand in preference to the General Congress at Philadelphia. I trust it is obvious to your lordships that all attempts to impose servitude upon such men, to establish despotism over such a mighty continental nation, must be vain, must be fatal."

Differences of opinion.

The differences of opinion in America ought to have retarded the terrible issue that was approaching. The fears of the timid, the hopes of the loyal, were opposed to the advocates of resistance, and might have prevailed to avert the notion of independence. In an unhappy hour, blood was shed; and conciliation then became a word that was uttered to deaf ears in England as in America.

General Gage appointed Governor of Massachusetts.

The ministry after passing their coercive Bills had determined to send out General Gage to supersede Hutchinson as Governor of Massachusetts, and to be Commander-in-Chief in the Colonies. He would have to act upon a system distinctly opposed to the old chartered system of free local government. He undervalued, as we have seen, the resistance which was to be brought against him, and relied too absolutely upon "four regiments." His appointment was not disagreeable to the New Englanders. He had lived among them, and had honorably executed the military authority with which he had been

previously intrusted. In an unhappy hour he arrived at Boston, on the 13th of May, 1774. A vessel which came there before him brought a copy of the Boston Port Bill. When Gage came into the harbor, the people were holding a meeting to discuss that Act of the British Legislature which deprived them of their old position in the commerce of the world—which doomed their merchants and all dependent upon them to absolute ruin. There was but one feeling. The meeting entered into resolutions, to which they invited the co-operation of the other Colonies, for the purpose of suspending all commercial intercourse with Great Britain, and the West Indies, until the Act was repealed. Copies of the Act were everywhere circulated, printed with a black border. But there was no violence. The new Governor was received with decorum, but without the accustomed honors. General Gage gave the Assembly notice that on the 1st of June, according to the provisions of the Act, their place of meeting would be removed to the town of Salem. When the spirit of opposition to his dictates was getting up, the Governor suddenly adjourned the Assembly. He was asked to appoint the 1st of June as a day of general prayer and fasting. He refused. In Virginia the House of Burgesses appointed the 1st of June as a day of humiliation, to avert the calamity of their loss of rights, or the miseries of civil war. They

His reception.

were immediately dissolved. The Assembly of Virginia did not separate without recommending a General Congress. The idea universally spread. Meanwhile, General Gage had an encampment of six regiments on a common near Boston, and had begun to fortify the isthmus which connects the town with the adjacent country. The 1st of June came. There was no tumult. Business was at an end; Boston had become a city of the dead.

The General Congress.

The first Congress, consisting of fifty-five members, met at Philadelphia on the 4th of September. The place of their meeting was Carpenter's Hall. Peyton Randolph was chosen as their President. Their proceedings were conducted with closed doors. The more earnest party gradually obtained the ascendency over the more timid. They drew up a Declaration of Rights. They passed Resolutions to suspend all imports from Great Britain or Ireland after the 1st of December, and to discontinue all exports after the 10th of September in the ensuing year, unless the grievances of America should be redressed. They published Addresses to the people of Great Britain and of Canada, and they decided upon a petition to the King. These were the papers that called forth the eulogium of Chatham. The Congress dissolved themselves on the 26th of October; and resolved that another Congress should be convened on the 10th of May, 1775.

Address to Great Britain and Canada.

After the 1st of June the irremediable conflict between the Governor and Representatives of the people soon put an end to the legal course of government. General Gage was so wholly deserted by the Council, that the meeting of the Assembly, which was proposed to take place at Salem in October, could not be regularly convened. Writs for the election of members had been issued, but were afterward annulled by proclamation. The elections took place. The persons chosen assembled, and styled themselves a Local Congress. A Committee of Safety was appointed. They enrolled militia, called "Minute Men," whose engagement was that they should appear in arms at a minute's notice. They appointed commanders. They provided ammunition. The knowledge of the two Acts of Parliament which had followed that for shutting up the Port of Boston, not only provoked this undisguised resolve to resist to the death among the people of Massachusetts, but called up the same growing determination throughout the vast continent of America.

The "Minute Men."

Chatham's conciliatory Bill made some impression upon Lord North, who proposed a very weak measure, as a Resolution of the House of Commons, that if any of the American provinces, by their legislature, should make some provision for the defence and government of that province, which should be approved by the King and Parliament, then it

might be proper to forbear imposing any tax. This was to attempt to put out a conflagration with a bucket of water.

If the highest efforts of argument could have been availing, the speech of Edmund Burke, on the 22d of March, would have arrested the headlong course of the government. At this moment a Bill was passing both Houses which Burke called "the great penal Bill by which we had passed sentence on the trade and sustenance of America." It was a Bill to prohibit certain Colonies from fishing on the banks of Newfoundland. Great Britain was not ashamed to resort to this petty measure of retaliation against the American non-importation agreements. Burke proposed a series of conciliatory Resolutions, of a less sweeping nature than those of Chatham, and therefore more likely to be acceptable to men of temperate opinions. They were rejected on a division of two hundred and seventy against seventy-eight. The speech of the great statesman presented a masterly review of the wonderful growth of the American Colonies—their successful industry, their commercial importance to Great Britain. The whole export trade of England, including the colonial trade, was six millions and a half in 1704. The export trade to the Colonies alone was six millions in 1772. These statistical facts were suddenly illumined by a burst of oratory, perhaps unrivalled. Allen, Lord Bathurst, to

"The great penal Bill."

Trade of the Colonies.

whom Pope addressed his *Epistle on the Use of Riches*—Bathurst "unspoiled by wealth," the father of the Lord Chancellor of 1775,—was cited by Burke as one that might remember all the stages of the growth of our national prosperity. He was in 1704 "of an age at least to be made to comprehend such things." "Suppose that the angel of that auspicious youth" had opened to him in vision the fortunes of his house in the twelfth year of the third prince of the line of Brunswick: "If amid these bright and happy scenes of domestic honor and prosperity, that angel should have drawn up the curtain, and unfolded the rising glories of his country, and while he was gazing with admiration on the then commercial grandeur of England, the genius should point out to him a little speck, scarce visible in the mass of the national interest, a small seminal principle, rather than a formed body, and should tell him—'Young man, there is America—which at this day serves for little more than to amuse you with stories of savage men, and uncouth manners; yet shall, before you taste of death, show itself equal to all of that commerce which now attracts the envy of the world. Whatever England has been growing to by a progressive increase of improvement, brought in by varieties of people, by a succession of civilizing conquests and civilizing settlements in a series of seventeen hundred years, you shall see as much added

Marvellous growth.

to her by America in the course of a single life.' If this state of his country had been foretold to him, would it not require all the sanguine credulity of youth, and all the fervid glow of enthusiasm, to make him believe it? Fortunate man, he has lived to see it! Fortunate indeed, if he lives to see nothing that shall vary the prospect, and cloud the setting of his day!"

Contrarieties of public opinion.

The contrarieties of public opinion in Great Britain and Ireland upon the American question were exhibited in petitions from various corporate bodies. Many manufacturing towns petitioned against the coercion Acts, as destructive of the commerce of the country. Other petitions called for an enforcement of the legislative supremacy of Great Britain, as the only means of preserving a trade with the Colonies. There were war petitions and peace petitions. Those who signed the war petitions were held to be mere party-men known as Tories. Those who signed the peace petitions were discontented Whigs, or something worse. The Quakers, while they exhorted to peace, maintained the loyalty of all religious denominations in America to the King's person, family and government. The

London's remonstrance.

citizens of London, with Wilkes at their head as Lord-Mayor, presented an Address and Remonstrance to the King on the throne, in which they denounced the measures of the government as deliberately intended to estab-

lish arbitrary power all over America. The King answered, that it was with the utmost astonishment that he found any of his subjects capable of encouraging the rebellious disposition which existed in some of his Colonies in America. From such different points of view did men regard this great argument. As usual in England, the most serious questions had their ludicrous aspect. Caricatures were numerous. One represented America as a struggling female, held down by Lord Mansfield, while Lord North was drenching her with "a strong dose of tea." In another, Britannia is thrown down upon her child America, while Lord North is pumping upon both of them, looking exultingly through his eyeglass. The partisans of the minister struck a medal in his honor.

Divided counsels.

Caricatures

The close of 1774 was, in Massachusetts, the silence before the storm. The people were arming. The Provincial Congress had formed an arsenal at Concord, an inland town. The British troops made no movements during the winter to interfere with these hostile demonstrations.

Massachusetts arms

On the evening of the 18th of April, Lieutenant-Colonel Smith, of the 10th Foot, marched, by order of Governor Gage, with a body of grenadiers and light infantry, for Concord, with the purpose of destroying all the military stores collected there. "Notwithstanding," writes Lieutenant-Colonel

The embattled farmers.

Smith in his despatch, "we marched with the utmost expedition and secrecy, we found the country had intelligence or strong suspicion of our coming, and fired many signal guns, and rung the alarm bells repeatedly; and we were informed, when at Concord, that some cannon had been taken out of town that day; that others, with some stores, had been carried away three days before, which prevented our having an opportunity of destroying so much as might have been expected at our first setting off." Six light infantry companies were despatched to seize two bridges on different roads beyond Concord. They found country people drawn on a green, with arms and accoutrements. The troops advanced, according to the lieutenant-colonel, without any intention of injuring the people; but, nevertheless, they were fired upon, and the soldiers fired again. When the

Skirmish at Concord.

detachment reached Concord, there was a more serious skirmish, with a very considerable body of countrymen. "At Concord," the narrative continues, "we found very few inhabitants in the town; those we met with, both Major Pitcairn and myself took all possible pains to convince that we meant them no injury, and that if they opened their doors when required to search for military stores, not the slightest mischief would be done. We had opportunities of convincing them of our good intentions, but they were sulky, and one

of them even struck Major Pitcairn. On our leaving Concord to return to Boston, they began to fire on us from behind walls, ditches, trees, etc., which, as we marched, increased to a very great degree, and continued without the intermission of five minutes altogether, for, I believe, upward of eighteen miles; so that I can't think but it must have been a preconcerted scheme in them to attack the King's troops the first favorable opportunity that offered, otherwise I think they could not, in so short a time as from our marching out, have raised such a numerous body, and for so great a space of ground." The destruction of the detachment under Lieutenant-Colonel Smith by a large body of infuriated men was averted by the arrival at Lexington of a reinforcement sent out by General Gage. The British continued to retreat before their resolute opponents. They did not reach their quarters till night had fallen—worn out with fatigue, and with a loss of two or three hundred in killed, wounded, and prisoners. There was no open fight, for the Minute Men were in ambush, and picked off the officers and men of the detachment from their secure hiding among trees and behind stone walls.

Retreat of the British.

The news of the affair of Lexington arrived in England at the end of May. The Provincial Congress of Massachusetts knew the effect that would be produced upon public opinion in the mother country when it should be

Receipt of the news

learnt that the King's troops had been defeated. The day after the skirmish, this Congress despatched a vessel to England, without freight, for the sole purpose of carrying letters detailing this triumph. Walpole has described the impression produced by the receipt of this intelligence in London—"May 28. Arrived a light sloop, sent by the Americans from Salem, with an account of their having defeated the King's troops." He then gives details of the news received, which seems to have been free from exaggeration. "The advice was immediately dispersed, while the government remained without any intelligence. Stocks immediately fell. The provincials had behaved with the greatest conduct, coolness, and resolution. One circumstance spoke a thorough determination of resistance: the provincials had sent over affidavits of all that had passed, and a colonel of the militia had sworn in an affidavit that he had given his men orders to fire on the King's troops, if the latter attacked them. It was firmness, indeed, to swear to having been the first to begin what the Parliament had named rebellion. Thus was the civil war begun, and a victory the first fruits of it on the side of the Americans, whom Lord Sandwich had had the folly and rashness to proclaim cowards."

Fall of stocks.

While the provincials of Massachusetts and the troops of General Gage had thus been brought into a collision which had more the

Ticonderoga and Crown Point captured.

character of accident than of preconcerted hostilities, a bold and successful attempt was made in another quarter, which could only be interpreted as a deliberate act of warfare. Forty volunteers, well armed, had set out, at the instigation of some leading men of Connecticut, to form part of an expedition which was to attack Ticonderoga, a fort on Lake George, and Crown Point, a fort on Lake Champlain. If these were taken, the invasion of Canada by the American militia would be greatly facilitated. The Connecticut volunteers were joined on their march by Ethan Allen, who had many volunteers under his command; and by Benedict Arnold, who subsequently obtained a celebrity not the most honorable. Ticonderoga was garrisoned by only forty-four soldiers, under the command of Captain de la Place. On the morning of the 10th of May, the commander was roused in his bed; saw his fort surrounded by several hundred men in arms; and was required to surrender "In the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress." The demand was not resisted. Crown Point was also surprised by the same body of adventurers.

Ethan Allen and Benedict Arnold.

The affair of Lexington was the commencement of the American war. More decisive encounters very speedily followed between the King's troops and many thousand Americans in arms.

On the day that Ticonderoga fell into the

hands of these American partisans, the General Congress assembled for the second time at Philadelphia.

[In 1774, the peace of Kutchuks Kainardji brings the war between Russia and Turkey to an end; Russia gains many advantages. In 1775, Turkey gives up Bukovina to Austria. In 1776, Louis XV. holds a Bed of Justice and Neckar comes into power. Adam Smith publishes his *Wealth of Nations;* and the first volume of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall* appears; Captain Cook discovers the Sandwich Islands; the English Parliament passes a resolution against the Slave Trade.]

Wealth of Nations and Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

(A.D. 1776)

JAMES SCHOULER

WE are to regard the Declaration of Independence as the *Magna Charta* of this New World. Yet it is not from this instrument that the American Union derives its being. In declaring a dissolution of their political connection with Great Britain, the several Colonies theoretically resolved themselves into free and independent States. But union was well understood to accompany independence so as to make it secure; and the preparation of some suitable plan of confederation had been one of the subjects for reference in the famous Lee resolves. Yet men who have resolved to unite divide when it comes to arranging the actual details of union. Articles of Confederation were reported from the committee July 12, 1776; but Congress withheld its sanction till near the close of 1777, when in an amended form the plan went to the States for their separate adoption. As these Articles could not take effect until all of the thirteen had rati-

The *Magna Charta* of the New World.

Articles of Confederation.

fied, and something appeared in the plan obnoxious to each one, it is not strange that several more years were wasted in discussion. The United States of America had no existence as a government under a fundamental compact until the spring of 1781, by which time the success of the patriot arms was hardly doubtful. The Union, indeed, had its flag before a fundamental charter, and its army a commander before a flag.

Their authorship.

The first draft of the Declaration of Independence and the desk upon which it was composed are religiously preserved. We know how and by whom every joist and rafter was set into our later Constitution. But how the Articles of Confederation were prepared, few ask and none can positively answer; nor has any one claimed to be their author. Its draft, to be sure, was made out by Dickinson, who was prominent in the committee; but much of that committee work must have been cut to order. As a framework of government this plan was no better than a makeshift; an effort to pare off slices of State sovereignty without diminishing the loaf; to circumscribe circumscription; to set centralism in motion with one hand and stop it with the other. That such a union could be, as the scheme professed, perpetual, was impossible.

Federal authority.

Under these Articles, as independently of them, the sole functions of Federal authority vested in a Continental Congress, consisting

of a single house of delegates, who voted by States, and were annually appointed in such manner as their respective States might direct, receiving their stipend from the State treasury. In such a legislature, which a split Senate of the present day might resemble, the American people found no direct representation. A president of Congress was designated, chiefly for ceremonial duties; while executive functions were administered to some extent by a Committee of States, empowered to sit during the recess. In ordinary course, seven out of thirteen States might thus have directed affairs; but in order to prevent this it was expressly forbidden the United States to engage in war, make treaties, coin money, borrow or appropriate, assign quotas, or even appoint a commander-in-chief of the army, except upon the assent of nine States. This provision, framed in the interest of a minority, might seem like taking the crutches from a lame man.

The general authority thus conferred upon the United States embraced the concerns of peace and war, foreign intercourse, inclusive of the power to make treaties, the regulations of coins, weights and measures, Indian affairs, and the general post-office. General authority.

Congress, responsible for the common debt already incurred, might borrow money and emit bills of credit. Extradition and mutual intercourse to much the same extent as under

the ancient New England confederacy were benefits promised the several States by this plan of union. And with the general powers conferred upon Congress they were forbidden to interfere; while at the same time these Articles emphatically reserved to the several confederated States all the powers not expressly delegated.

Fatal defects.

In such a scheme of Federal union might be pointed out fatal defects. (1.) The want of sanction, or some compulsory means of enforcing obedience. This charter provided neither executive nor judiciary worth mentioning, and no means whatever of securing the steady operation of the provisions which were most vital to the general welfare. A single member of the confederacy might defy or disregard a constitutional decree of Congress; in which case there was no resort, should persuasion prove futile, but to draw the sword and proclaim civil war. That it might by mere negligence fail to supply its quota of men or money was a necessary and a mischievous consequence. In theory each State would with alacrity fulfil its solemn obligation, else, to punish its stubbornness, all the others would rally to the side of Congress. But in practice, as will presently be shown, the example of State disobedience became contagious, and led rather to a general dereliction of duty instead. (2.) Operation of the fundamental law, in general, not upon citizens and

State disobedience.

individuals, but upon States or people in the mass. (3.) The large vote requisite in Congress for the passage of all important general measures. Five States could thus lawfully obstruct legislation essential to the interests of the Union, in utter contempt of the wishes of the other eight and of a manifest public necessity. (4.) The absence of a right to regulate foreign commerce and make duties uniform, as well as to collect those duties. (5.) A virtual omission of all power to alter or amend existing Articles. The power to alter is the safety-valve of every political constitution; since law only scoops the channel for advancing society to run in. Alteration was possible, as these Articles read, if the proposed amendment should be first agreed to in Congress, and afterward confirmed by the legislature of every State. But if, as might likely happen, the interests of a single commonwealth stood in the way of the general change, how was amendment possible? Feeble as was the present league, could two-thirds or even twelve-thirteenths of the States have given validity to one or two new articles, the Convention of 1787 would never have met which framed a new Constitution. Nothing saved America from utter perdition, under the so-called perpetual league, but a *coup de main*. Happily the revolution which superseded the old Articles had the popular sanction and was bloodless; it is to the lasting glory of our

Power to alter.

people that this alternative was fairly forced upon them before they accepted it.

Division of sentiment.

While these Articles of Confederation were pending, and even earlier, a strong division of sentiment became manifest between the large and small States. Populous and wealthy colonies by comparison, like Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, might well have shrunk from an alliance, on terms which sunk them to the same level of representation as Delaware, Georgia, and Rhode Island. History shows, nevertheless, that in a controversy begun before Bunker's Hill was fought, it was the larger States that courted, while the smaller ones were coy. Representation on a popular basis the small States refused from the first to permit; their sister commonwealths, they said, would be influential enough in the general council without it; all were fighting for existence, and what would independence of the King avail themselves if they were to forsake one tyranny for another? Thus was gained one concession from the large States. Another, but of positive and permanent advantage to the Union, Maryland procured, namely: a relinquishment for the common benefit of all State claims to Western territory. Maryland refused to accede to the proposed confederacy until this by 1781 was accomplished.

Concessions by the large States.

This era of Federal construction was likewise an era of local reconstruction. Each

Colony, acting upon the monition of Congress, had in 1776 adapted itself to the new condition of free and independent States. Colonial charters suggested the idea of a written constitution; and indeed for many years longer Rhode Island and Connecticut continued each to use the royal document as the sole fundamental law. Some State constitutions, hastily prepared, proved very faulty; but that of Massachusetts, the best matured of them, has, with occasional amendment, served the State more than a full century. All were republican in form, but none strictly democratic. In fairly separating the executive, legislative, and judicial departments, and erecting a legislature which consisted of two houses, these local constitutions set a pattern in various respects which the United States was yet to follow. Human equality and the government by common consent they generally recognized in express terms. So engrossing had become this work during the last years of the war as to provoke complaint that the men who ought to be saving America were at home serving their own States.

State constitutions.

SURRENDER OF BURGOYNE AT SARATOGA

(A.D. 1777)

E. S. CREASY

Significance of Burgoyne's defeat.

THE war which rent away the North American colonies from England is, of all subjects in history, the most painful for an Englishman to dwell on. It was commenced and carried on by the British ministry in iniquity and folly, and it was concluded in disaster and shame. Nor can any military event be said to have exercised more important influence on the future fortunes of mankind than the complete defeat of Burgoyne's expedition in 1777; a defeat which rescued the revolted colonists from certain subjection, and which, by inducing the courts of France and Spain to attack England in their behalf, ensured the independence of the United States, and the formation of that transatlantic power which not only America, but both Europe and Asia now see and feel.

The English had a considerable force in Canada, and in 1776 had completely repulsed an attack which the Americans had made upon that province. The British ministry resolved to avail themselves, in the next year,

of the advantage which the occupation of Canada gave them, not merely for the purpose of defence, but for the purpose of striking a vigorous and crushing blow against the revolted colonies. With this view the army in Canada was largely reinforced. Seven thousand veteran troops were sent out from England, with a corps of artillery abundantly supplied and led by select and experienced officers. Large quantities of military stores were also furnished for the equipment of the Canadian volunteers, who were expected to join the expedition. It was intended that the force thus collected should march southward by the line of the lakes, and thence along the banks of the Hudson River. The British army from New York (or a large detachment of it) was to make a simultaneous movement northward, up the line of the Hudson, and the two expeditions were to unite at Albany. By these operations, all communication between the northern colonies and those of the centre and south would be cut off. An irresistible force would be concentrated, so as to crush all further opposition in New England: and when this was done, it was believed that the other colonies would speedily submit. The Americans had no troops in the field that seemed able to baffle these movements. Their principal army, under Washington, was occupied in watching over Pennsylvania and the South. At any rate, it was believed that, in order to

Reinforcement of the British army.

Simultaneous movements.

oppose the plan intended for the new campaign, the insurgents must risk a pitched battle, in which the superiority of the Royalists, in numbers, in discipline, and in equipment, seemed to promise to the latter a crowning victory. Without question, the plan was ably formed; and had the success of the execution been equal to the ingenuity of the design, the reconquest or submission of the thirteen united States must in all human probability have followed, and the independence which they proclaimed in 1776 would have been extinguished before it had existed a second year.

Plan of the British.

No European power had as yet come forward to aid America. It is true that England was generally regarded with jealousy and ill will, and was thought to have acquired, at the Treaty of Paris, a preponderance of dominion which was perilous to the balance of power; but, though many were willing to wound, none had yet ventured to strike; and America, if defeated in 1777, would have been suffered to fall unaided.

England's unpopularity abroad.

Burgoyne assembled his troops and confederates near the river Bonquet, on the west side of Lake Champlain. He then, on the 21st of June, 1777, gave his red allies a war feast, and harangued them on the necessity of abstaining from their usual cruel practices against unarmed people and prisoners. At the same time, he published a pompous manifesto to the Americans, in which he threat-

Burgoyne's manifesto.

ened the refractory with all the horrors of war, Indian as well as European. The army proceeded by water to Crown Point, a fortification which the Americans held at the northern extremity of the inlet by which the water from Lake George is conveyed to Lake Champlain. He landed here without opposition; but the reduction of Ticonderoga, a fortification about twelve miles from Crown Point, was a more serious matter, and was supposed to be the most critical part of the expedition. Ticonderoga commanded the passage along the lakes, and was considered to be the key to the route which Burgoyne wished to follow. The English had been repulsed in an attack on it in the war with the French in 1758 with severe loss. But Burgoyne now invested it with great skill; and the American general, St. Clair, who had only an ill-equipped army of 3,000 men, evacuated it on the 5th of July. Burgoyne's troops pursued the retiring Americans, gained several advantages over them, and took a large part of their artillery and military stores.

Capture of Ticonderoga.

The loss of the British in these engagements was trifling. The army moved southward along Lake George to Skenesborough, and thence to Fort Edward, on the Hudson River, the American troops continuing to retire before them.

The British advance.

Burgoyne reached the left bank of the Hudson River on the 30th of July. Hitherto he

had overcome every difficulty which the enemy and the nature of the country had placed in his way. His army was in excellent order, and in the highest spirits, and the peril of the expedition seemed over when once on the bank of the river which was to be the channel of communication between them and the British army in the south.

Firmness of the colonists.

The astonishment and alarm which these events produced among the Americans were naturally great; but in the midst of their disasters, none of the colonists showed any disposition to submit. The local governments of the New England States, as well as the Congress, acted with vigor and firmness in their efforts to repel the enemy. General Gates was

Gates sent to command the Americans.

sent to take the command of the army at Saratoga; and Arnold was despatched by Washington to act under him, with reinforcements of troops and guns from the main American army. Burgoyne's employment of the Indians now produced the worst possible effects. Though he labored hard to check the atrocities which they were accustomed to commit, he could not prevent the occurrence of many barbarous outrages, repugnant both to the feelings of humanity and to the laws of civilized warfare. The American commanders took

Indian atrocities.

care that the reports of these excesses should be circulated far and wide, well knowing that they would make the stern New Englanders not droop, but rage. Such was their effect.

Every man saw the necessity of becoming a temporary soldier, not only for his own security, but for the protection and defence of those connections which are dearer than life itself. Thus an army was poured forth by the woods, mountains, and marshes, which in this part were thickly sown with plantations and villages.

American recruits.

While resolute recruits were thus flocking to the standard of Gates and Arnold at Saratoga and while Burgoyne was engaged at Fort Edward in providing the means for the further advance of his army, two events occurred, in each of which the British sustained loss and the Americans obtained advantage, the moral effects of which were even more important than the immediate result of the encounters. When Burgoyne left Canada, General St. Leger was detached from that province with a mixed force of about 1,000 men and some light field-pieces across Lake Ontario against Fort Stanwix, which the Americans held. After capturing this, he was to march along the Mohawk River to its confluence with the Hudson, between Saratoga and Albany, where his force and that of Burgoyne were to unite. But, after some successes, St. Leger was obliged to retreat, and to abandon his tents and large quantities of stores to the enemy. At the very time that General Burgoyne heard of this disaster, he experienced one still more severe in the defeat

The British are checked

of Colonel Baum, with a large detachment of German troops, at Bennington, whither Burgoyne had sent them for the purpose of capturing some magazines of provisions, of which the British army stood greatly in need.

Burgoyne arrives at Saratoga.

Notwithstanding these reverses, which added greatly to the spirit and numbers of the American forces, Burgoyne determined to advance. Having, by unremitting exertions, collected provisions for thirty days, he crossed the Hudson by means of a bridge of rafts, and, marching a short distance along its western bank, he encamped on the 14th of September on the heights of Saratoga. The Americans had fallen back from Saratoga, and were now strongly posted near Stillwater, about half-way between Saratoga and Albany, and showed a determination to recede no further.

Clinton sails to join Burgoyne.

Meanwhile Lord Howe, with the bulk of the British army that had lain at New York, had sailed away to the Delaware, and there commenced a campaign against Washington, in which the English general took Philadelphia, and gained other showy but unprofitable successes. But Sir Henry Clinton, a brave and skilful officer, was left with a considerable force at New York, and he undertook the task of moving up the Hudson to co-operate with Burgoyne. Clinton was obliged for this purpose to wait for reinforcements which had been promised from England, and these did

not arrive till September. As soon as he received them, Clinton embarked about 3,000 of his men on a flotilla, convoyed by some ships of war under Commander Hotham, and proceeded to force his way up the river.

Indecisive encounter.

The country between Burgoyne's position at Saratoga and that of the Americans at Stillwater was rugged, and seamed with creeks and water-courses; but, after great labor in making bridges and temporary causeways, the British army moved forward. About four miles from Saratoga, on the afternoon of the 19th of September, a sharp encounter took place between part of the English right wing, under Burgoyne himself, and a strong body of the enemy, under Gates and Arnold. The conflict lasted till sunset. The British remained masters of the field; but the loss on each side was nearly equal (from five hundred to six hundred men); and the spirits of the Americans were greatly raised by having withstood the best regular troops of the English army. Burgoyne now halted again, and strengthened his position by field-works and redoubts; and the Americans also improved their defences. The two armies remained nearly within cannon-shot of each other for a considerable time, during which Burgoyne was anxiously looking for intelligence of the promised expedition from New York. At last a messenger brought the information that Clinton was on his way up the Hudson to at-

Defensive works.

tack the American forts which barred the passage to Albany. Burgoyne, in reply, stated that unless he received assistance before the 10th of October, he would be obliged to retreat to the lakes through want of provisions.

Desertions from the British.

The Indians and the Canadians now began to desert Burgoyne, while, on the other hand, Gates's army was continually reinforced by fresh bodies of the militia. And finding the number and spirit of the enemy to increase daily and his own stores of provisions to diminish, Burgoyne determined on attacking the Americans in front of him, and, by dislodging them from their position, to gain the means of moving upon Albany, or, at least, of relieving his troops from the straitened position in which they were cooped up.

Opposing forces.

Burgoyne's force was now reduced to less than 6,000 men. The right of his camp was on some high ground a little to the west of the river: thence his intrenchments extended along the lower ground to the bank of the Hudson, their line being nearly at a right angle with the course of the stream. The lines were fortified in the centre and the left with redoubts and field-works. The numerical force of the Americans was now greater than the British, even in regular troops, and the numbers of the militia and volunteers which had joined Gates and Arnold were greater still. The right of the American position, that is to say, the part of it nearest to the

river, was too strong to be assailed with any prospect of success, and Burgoyne therefore determined to endeavor to force their left. For this purpose he formed a column of 1,500 regular troops, with two twelve-pounders, two howitzers, and six six-pounders. The enemy's force immediately in front of his lines was so strong that he dared not weaken the troops who guarded them by detaching any more to strengthen his column of attack.

Burgoyne advances.

Burgoyne pushed forward some bodies of irregular troops to distract the enemy's attention, and led his column to within three-quarters of a mile from the left of Gates's camp, and then deployed his men into line. The Grenadiers under Major Ackland were drawn up on the left, a corps of Germans in the centre, and the English Light Infantry and the 24th regiment on the right. But Gates did not wait to be attacked; and directly the British line was formed and began to advance, the American general, with admirable skill, caused a strong force to make a sudden and vehement rush against its left. The Grenadiers under Ackland sustained the charge of superior numbers nobly. But Gates sent more Americans forward, and in a few minutes the action became general along the centre, so as to prevent the Germans from sending any help to the Grenadiers. Burgoyne's right was not yet engaged; but a mass of the enemy were observed advancing from

Gates also advances.

their extreme left, with the evident intention of turning the British right, and cutting off its retreat. The Light Infantry and the 24th now fell back, and formed an oblique second line, which enabled them to baffle this manœuvre, and also to succor their comrades in the left wing, the gallant Grenadiers, who were overpowered by superior numbers, and, but for this aid, must have been cut to pieces. Arnold now came up with three American regiments, and attacked the right flank of the English double line. Burgoyne's whole force was soon compelled to retreat toward their camp; the left and centre were in complete disorder; but the Light Infantry and the 24th checked the fury of the assailants, and the remains of Burgoyne's column with great difficulty effected their return to their camp, leaving six of their guns in the possession of the enemy, and great numbers of killed and wounded on the field; and especially a large proportion of the artillerymen, who had stood to their guns until shot down or bayoneted beside them by the advancing Americans.

Burgoyne retreats.

Burgoyne's column had been defeated, but the action was not yet over. The English had scarcely entered the camp, when the Americans, pursuing their success, assaulted it in several places with uncommon fierceness, rushing to the lines through a severe fire of grape-shot and musketry with the utmost fury. Arnold especially, who on this day ap-

peared maddened with the thirst of combat and carnage, urged on the attack against a part of the intrenchments which was occupied by the Light Infantry under Lord Balcarras. But the English received him with vigor and spirit. The struggle here was obstinate and sanguinary. At length, as it grew toward evening, Arnold, having forced all obstacles, entered the works with some of the most fearless of his followers. But in this critical moment of glory and danger he received a painful wound in the same leg which had already been injured at the assault on Quebec. To his bitter regret, he was obliged to be carried back. His party still continued the attack; but the English also continued their obstinate resistance, and at last night fell, and the assailants withdrew from this quarter of the British intrenchments. But in another part the attack had been more successful. A body of the Americans, under Colonel Brooke, forced their way in through a part of the intrenchments on the extreme right, which was defended by the German reserve under Colonel Breyman. The Germans resisted well, and Breyman died in defence of his post; but the Americans made good the ground which they had won, and captured baggage, tents, artillery, and a store of ammunition, which they were greatly in need of. They had, by establishing themselves on this point, acquired the means of completely turning the right flank of

The assault on the camp

Arnold's gallantry.

Partial success.

the British, and gaining their rear. To prevent this calamity, Burgoyne effected during the night a complete change of position. With great skill, he removed his whole army to some heights near the river, a little northward of the former camp, and he there drew up his men, expecting to be attacked on the following day. But Gates was resolved not to risk the certain triumph which his success had already secured for him. He harassed the English with skirmishes, but attempted no regular attack. Meanwhile he detached bodies of troops on both sides of the Hudson to prevent the British from recrossing that river and to bar their retreat. When night fell, it became absolutely necessary for Burgoyne to retire again, and, accordingly, the troops were marched through a stormy and rainy night toward Saratoga, abandoning their sick and wounded, and the greater part of their baggage to the enemy.

Burgoyne retires.

Burgoyne now took up his last position on the heights near Saratoga; and, hemmed in by the enemy who refused an encounter, and baffled in all his attempts at finding a path of escape, he there lingered until famine compelled him to capitulate.

Famine compels capitulation.

At length the 13th of October arrived, and as no prospect of assistance appeared, and the provisions were nearly exhausted, Burgoyne, by the unanimous advice of a council of war, sent a messenger to the American camp to

treat of a convention. After various messages, a convention for the surrender of the army was settled, which provided that "the troops under General Burgoyne were to march out of their camp with honors of war, and the artillery out of the intrenchments, to the verge of the river, where the arms and artillery were to be left. The arms to be piled by word of command from their own officers. A free passage was to be granted to the army under Lieutenant-General Burgoyne to Great Britain, upon condition of not serving again in North America during the present contest." Terms of surrender.

The articles of capitulation were settled on the 15th of October; and on that very evening a messenger arrived from Clinton with an account of his success, and with the tidings that part of his force had penetrated as far as Esopus, within fifty miles of Burgoyne's camp. But it was too late. The public faith was pledged; and the army was indeed too debilitated by fatigue and hunger to resist an attack, if made; and Gates certainly would have made it, if the convention had been broken off. Losses of the British.

Accordingly, on the 17th, the Convention of Saratoga was carried into effect. By this convention 5,790 men surrendered themselves as prisoners. The sick and wounded left in the camp when the British retreated to Saratoga, together with the numbers of the British, German, and Canadian troops who

were killed, wounded, or taken, and who had deserted in the preceding part of the expedition, were reckoned to be 4,689.

Joy of the Americans.

Gates, after the victory, immediately despatched Colonel Wilkinson to carry the happy tidings to Congress. On being introduced into the hall he said, "The whole British army has laid down its arms at Saratoga; our own, full of vigor and courage, expect your orders. It is for your wisdom to decide where the country may still have need of their services." Honors and rewards were liberally voted by the Congress to their conquering general and his men; and it would be difficult to describe the transports of joy which the news of this event excited among the Americans.

They began to flatter themselves with a still more happy future. No one any longer felt any doubt about their achieving their independence. All hoped, and with good reason, that a success of this importance would at length determine France, and the other European powers that waited for her example, to declare themselves in favor of America. "*There could no longer be any question respecting the future, since there was no longer the risk of espousing the cause of a people too feeble to defend themselves.*"

Conduct of France.

The truth of this was soon displayed in the conduct of France. When the news arrived at Paris of the capture of Ticonderoga, and

of the victorious march of Burgoyne toward Albany, events which seemed decisive in favor of the English, instructions had been immediately despatched to Nantz, and the other ports of the kingdom, that no American privateers should be suffered to enter them, except from indispensable necessity, as to repair their vessels, to obtain provisions, or to escape the perils of the sea. The American commissioners at Paris, in their disgust and despair, had almost broken off all negotiations with the French Government; and they even endeavored to open communications with the British ministry. But the British Government, elated with the first success of Burgoyne, refused to listen to any overtures for accommodation. But when the news of Saratoga reached Paris, the whole scene was changed. Franklin and his brother commissioners found all their difficulties with the French Government vanish. The time seemed to have arrived for the House of Bourbon to take full revenge for all its humiliations and losses in previous wars. In December a treaty was arranged and formally signed in the February following, by which France acknowledged *the Independent United States of America.* This was, of course, tantamount to a declaration of war with England. Spain soon followed France; and before long, Holland took the same course. Largely aided by French fleets and troops, the Americans vigo-

The news in Paris.

France, Spain, and Holland recognize the United States.

rously maintained the war against the armies which England, in spite of her European foes, continued to send across the Atlantic. But the struggle was too unequal to be maintained by this country for many years; and when the treaties of 1783 restored peace to the world, the independence of the United States was reluctantly recognized by their ancient parent and recent enemy, England.

Independence of the United States recognized by England.

[In 1777, Spain and Portugal settle their disputes in South America by the treaty of San Ildefonso; the Swiss Cantons make an alliance with Louis XVI. from dread of Austria's designs. In 1778, the Electorate of Bavaria ends by the death of the reigning prince; Spain signs the treaty of perpetual alliance with Portugal and acquires Fernando Po in the Gulf of Guinea. In 1779, France and Spain declare war against England and their fleets scour the Channel; the war of the Bavarian succession ends. In 1780, the Gordon Riots occur in London; the chapels of the Catholic ambassadors are sacked, and Newgate is burnt; Clinton and Cornwallis gain successes in South Carolina, and Arnold's treason is discovered and André is hanged; Rodney gains a great victory over the Spaniards off Cape St. Vincent; Russia attacks Turkey; Hyder Ali invades the Carnatic; the twelfth Earl of Derby institutes the "Blue Ribbon of the Turf." In 1781, Cornwallis

André hanged.

defeats Greene, fortifies Yorktown, but is blockaded by De Grasse and an American army; Necker is dismissed from the French premiership and the period of reform ends; in India, Hyder Ali and French allies are defeated by Eyre Coote.] Necker dismissed.

THE SURRENDER OF CORNWALLIS AT YORKTOWN

(A.D. 1781)

CHARLES KNIGHT

THE Articles of Capitulation did not involve any degrading conditions. The garrisons of York and Gloucester were to march out to an appointed place, with shouldered arms, colors cased, and drums beating a British or German march; then to ground their arms, and return to the place of their encampment. The imagination might fill up a picture from this indistinct outline. But a very graphic representation of an extraordinary scene exists in the diary of an Anspach sergeant, who served in the British army. We necessarily take only the prominent points of a lengthened detail. On the afternoon of the 19th of October, all the troops marched on the road to Williamsburg, in platoons, through the whole American and French army, who were drawn up in regiments. In front of each regiment were their generals and staff-officers. The French generals were attended by richly dressed servants in liveries. Count de Rochambeau, Marquis

Description by an eye-witness.

Articles of Capitulation.

de Lafayette, Count de Deuxponts, and Prince de Lucerne were there, wearing glittering stars and badges. The French formed the right wing. The left wing of the line was formed of the Americans. In front were their generals, Washington, Gates, Steuben, and Wayne. They were paraded in three lines. The regulars, in front, looked passable; but the militia, from Virginia and Maryland, were ragged and ill-looking. The prisoners were quite astonished at the immense number of their besiegers, whose lines, three ranks deep, extended nearly two miles. They passed through this formidable army to a large plain, where a squadron of French hussars had formed a circle. One regiment after another had to pass into this circle, to lay down their muskets and other arms. The honest narrator says, "When our colonel, Baron Seybothen, had marched his men into the circle, he had us drawn up in a line, stepped in front of it, and commanded first, 'Present arms,' and then, 'Lay down arms—put off swords and cartridge-boxes,' while tears ran down his cheeks. Most of us were weeping like him." All the officers, English and German, were allowed to keep their swords. All marched back in utter silence to the camp. Their courage and their spirit were gone; "the more so," says the sergeant, "as in this our return march the American part of our conquerors jeered at us very insultingly."

French officers.

Laying down arms.

Upon their return to their lines and tents, they enjoyed full liberty. The French are described as behaving very well toward the conquered—altogether kind and obliging. Cornwallis, in his despatch, makes no complaint of the Americans, but he clearly draws a distinction that seems expressive of no very cordial feeling toward those of the same race with himself: "The treatment in general, that we have received from the enemy since our surrender has been perfectly good and proper; but the kindness and attention that has been shown to us by the French officers in particular—their delicate sensibility of our situation, their generous and pressing offer of money, both public and private, to any amount—has really gone beyond what I can possibly describe, and will, I hope, make an impression on the breast of every British officer whenever the fortune of war should put any of them into our power." The Abbé Robin noticed that there was a much deeper feeling of animosity between the English and Americans than between the English and French. As the English officers passed through the lines they saluted every French officer, but they showed no such courtesy to the American officers. There was no wisdom or equity in this unmerited contempt of men who were fighting for a far higher cause than their French allies. There was only a paltry display of military pride against irregulars, and a servile imita-

Cornwallis's tribute to the French.

Animosity between English and Americans.

tion of the temper of the English Court toward "rebels." An article of capitulation proposed by Cornwallis was rejected by Washington—"Natives or inhabitants of different parts of this country at present in York or Gloucester are not to be punished on account of having joined the British army." It was rejected upon principle: "The article can not be assented to, being altogether of civil resort." But Washington did not refuse his consent through any vindictive feeling. He allowed an article to stand, by which the *Bonetta* sloop of war should be left entirely at the disposal of Lord Cornwallis, and be permitted to sail to New York without examination. The Anspach sergeant records that Tories of the country who were in the British army, and the French and American deserters who had joined during the siege, thus passed unmolested. This fact was probably unknown in England when Cornwallis was bitterly blamed for consenting to the refusal of the tenth article. "He ought," says Walpole, "to have declared he would die rather than sacrifice the poor Americans who had followed him from loyalty against their countrymen."

Tories and deserters escape.

On the day that Cornwallis signed the capitulation, Clinton despatched the auxiliary force for his relief. When Cornwallis and his superior officer met at New York, their differences of opinion became a matter of serious controversy, which was subsequently

Controversy between Clinton and Cornwallis.

taken up in Parliamentary debates, and in pamphlets not devoid of personal acrimony. These charges and recriminations were soon forgotten in the more important political events that were a certain consequence of a calamity through which the war would very soon come to an end. There can be no doubt that the government felt the capitulation as an irremediable disaster. Wraxall, in his *Memoirs of his Own Time,* has related a conversation which he had with Lord George Germaine, as to the mode in which Lord North received the intelligence. Wraxall, a very slovenly and inaccurate writer, has confounded the official account of the surrender with a French Gazette that reached London on Sunday, the 25th of November. Clinton's despatch did not reach Lord George Germaine till midnight of the 25th, as shown by a minute on the back of the letter; and therefore Wraxall's statement that Lord George read the despatch to him and others at dinner, between five and six o'clock, is certainly incorrect. But nevertheless we can not, in common fairness, accuse the gossiping memoir-writer of having invented the conversation which he alleges took place at this dinner. He asked the Secretary how Lord North took the communication when made to him. The reply was, "As he would have taken a ball in his breast; for he opened his arms, exclaiming wildly, as he paced up and down the apart-

North's reception of the news.

ment during a few minutes, 'Oh God! it is all over,'—words which he repeated many times, under emotions of the deepest consternation and distress." Lord George Germaine appears to have had very little official reticence, if Wraxall is to be believed, for he read to the same mixed company a letter from the King, in reply to the communication of the disastrous news: "I trust that neither Lord George Germaine nor any member of the Cabinet will suppose that it makes the smallest alteration in those principles of my conduct which have directed me in past time, and which will always continue to animate me under every event, in the prosecution of the present contest." Royal obstinacy.

The session of Parliament was opened on the 27th of November, 1781. The royal speech had been prepared before the news of the capitulation of Cornwallis had reached London on the 25th. The mover of the address had been appointed, and had got by heart the echo of the speech. The ministers had little time to prepare or alter the speech, says Walpole. They were obliged to find another mover of the address; for the young Lord Fielding, originally chosen, "avoided making himself as ridiculous as the royal speech." The inconsistency of the production is manifest. The beginning and the end declare the King's resolution to persevere in extinguishing the spirit of rebellion among his The King's speech.

deluded subjects in America, precisely in the same tone as if Cornwallis had sent Washington a prisoner to London. But one little sentence creeps in, which renders these words of sound and fury of no significance: "It is with great concern I inform you that the events of war have been very unfortunate to my arms in Virginia, having ended in the loss of my forces in that province." It was to be expected that the calamity of Yorktown would give new effect to the efforts of the Opposition to put an end to the war; but the temper which was evinced in this royal communication was calculated to raise hostility to a ministry into bitterness against the sovereign. Lord Shelburne talked of the greatness of mind with which his Majesty could rise superior to the dreadful situation of his affairs. "He was not surprised that ministers should take advantage of the noble sentiments of their monarch, and contrive and fabricate such a speech as should best flatter his personal feelings; but it was to be remembered that those ministers had never governed long for the people's advantage, in any country, who had not fortitude to withstand the mere impulse of their master's sentiments." Upon this point, it is curious to note the difference of opinion between two eminent statesmen of our own times. Lord Holland laments the weakness, while he enters into the chivalrous feelings, of Lord North, which induced him, in opposition to

The Opposition Parliament.

his better judgment, not to abandon a master who expressed for him such confidence, affection, and regard. Lord John Russell holds that the King's opinion that the independence of America would be tantamount to the ruin of the country was the opinion of Chatham and others of the most eminent of his subjects; that the King was only blamable for the obstinacy with which he clung to this opinion; but that Lord North, who was disposed to conciliate America, and was quite ready to consent to peace, by remaining in power to carry into effect the personal wishes of the sovereign, which he preferred to the welfare of the state, exhibited a conduct which might be Toryism, but was neither patriotic nor constitutional.

Lord North's devotion to the King.

[In 1782, Spain deprives England of Minorca, but Rodney defeats De Grasse and saves the British West Indies. In 1783, a treaty at Paris recognizes the independence of the United States; England gains the right to trade with the Dutch East Indies; Russia extends her conquests to the Black Sea. In 1785, the French court is degraded in the eyes of the populace by the affair of the Queen's Necklace; Warren Hastings resigns his powers and returns to England. In 1786, the King of France is in such difficulties with his ministers that he agrees to summon the Notables in 1787. In 1787, the Notables meet, but, rejecting the proposals of the ministry, are

England recognizes the independence of the United States.

Catherine II. forces war upon Turkey.

dissolved. Catherine II. visits the Crimea accompanied by Potemkine; she enters into an alliance with the Emperor and forces war upon Turkey; a convention of the United States, with the exception of Rhode Island, meets under the Presidency of Washington; England acquires Sierra Leone for settling freed slaves.]

THE RUSSIAN CONQUEST OF THE CRIMEA

(A.D. 1787—1792)

ALPHONSE DE LAMARTINE

QUITE as insidious in her diplomacy as in her conquests, Catherine flattered the Emperor Joseph II. in compelling, by her menace, Holland to yield to that Prince the free navigation of the Scheldt.

Potemkine suggested to her, in 1787, the wish to be crowned at Cherson, as sovereign of the Taurid. This journey, which recalled that of Cleopatra on the Syrian coast, meant to dazzle her new subjects by the display of an Asiatic pomp, was destined also to charm the eyes of Joseph II. and the Western ambassadors by the extent and the fame of the territories and the seas over which Catherine led them in her train. A new favorite of the Empress, Momonof, a host of courtiers and women, ministers and ambassadors from France, England, and Austria, and the Prince de Ligne, a celebrated courtier, whose brilliant conversation was astonishing all Europe at this time, formed the triumphal train of a woman who had turned the whole of Europe

Object of Catherine's trip.

into a court. To show the Ottoman Empire to these representatives of Western courts as prey easy to seize, to make them dupes first and then accomplices in her designs upon the Bosphorus, to engage their responsibility in these prospects, and to obtain finally from them at least a tacit permission to do in Turkey what she had done in the Crimea, this was, after the pride of the voyage itself, the political object of this long trip across the Empire.

Objects of the progress.

The account given by the Prince de Ligne and the French ambassador, M. de Ségur, savors of the theatrical rather than the historical. One seems to travel with these courtiers in the realms of Fable: the flying sleighs drawn by hundreds of horses on roads illuminated by bonfires from post to post; the acclamations of the people along these routes; the regiments with the most celebrated generals in command encamped to salute the Empress from province to province; a way made through cataracts of the Dniester to permit the fifty galleys of the sovereign to sail down; the King of Poland, Poniatowski, running like a simple viceroy upon the bank of the Kanief, to bow before his former idol, now become that of the whole world; a secret maintenance of this already condemned and still deceived King; new villages with factitious façades crowning the hills on the borders of the river, to simulate population and opulence in the desert; the Emperor Joseph II.

Theatrical pomp.

hastening by another route to Cherson and awaiting, like a vassal, the arrival of the Empress; palaces built in a day, the extravagance of a hundred million scattered on the route; Potemkine, accompanied by the most beautiful woman in the East, Madame de Witt, his mistress, doing the honors of the Crimea to his sovereign; the Empress of Russia lodged in Batschi-Seraïl, in the deserted but still sumptuous palace of the Khans; and at Pultowa, a representation, by two armies of 60,000 men, of the battle in which Charles XII. ceded fortune to Russia. Display of pomp.

In the midst of all this pomp, Catherine degraded herself in public by the most servile condescension toward her new favorite, the vulgar Momonof, the convive of emperors and kings. Finally, the half-whispered or confidential conferences of the Empress and Joseph II. on their project of appropriating these lands and these Ottoman seas, all these prodigies of power, luxury, fêtes, wit, and scandal, made the voyage in the Crimea the talk of Europe and posterity. Russia, personified in a woman with two faces, European and Oriental, with civilization in one hand and a sword in the other, appeared for the first time. Love and politics.

The courtly attitude of the French, English, Austrian, Spanish and Italian ambassadors, and the presence of the Emperor Joseph II. himself added the deference of Europe to the

pride of the Tsarina. A warning of fate seemed to arouse Joseph II. from his dreams of invading Turkey and Poland. The news of the revolution of his states in Brabant reached him while he was plotting attacks upon his neighbors. He left in great haste to defend his own provinces.

Joseph II. summoned to Brabant.

While this trip was taking place, Potemkine's agents were agitating the Egyptians in Cairo, the Greeks in Smyrna, the Roumanians in Moldavia and Wallachia, the Servians in their mountains and the Bulgarians in their valleys. The demands of the Divan were not answered. The Porte, disturbed by this inexplicable trip of the Empress and her intimacy with Joseph II., resolved to prevent the coalition, and declared war against Russia. This was exactly what Potemkine wanted.

Turkey declares war.

Eighty thousand Turks advanced upon Otchakoff, while the old admiral, Hassan-Pacha, entered the Black Sea with his sixteen vessels, eight frigates and thirty galleys. The spirit of the old Ottomans lived again in the words that Hassan addressed to his officers before embarking:

Hassan's speech to his officers.

"You know from whence I come and what I have done," he said to them; "a new field of honor calls me, as well as you, to sacrifice the last breath for the honor of our religion and in the service of the Sultan and the invincible nation that now demands the last drop of our blood. It is to fulfil this sacred duty that I now

separate myself from those of my family who are the dearest of all things to me. I have given liberty to all my slaves of both sexes; I have paid them all that I owe them and I have rewarded each according to his deserts. I have given a last farewell to my wife. I now come to engage in combat with the firm resolve to conquer or to die.—If I return, it will be a favor of the Most High. I do not wish to live a moment after glory has departed. Such is my unshaken resolution.

"You, who have always been my faithful companions, I have called you together to incite you to follow my example in this critical situation. If there is one here who does not feel the courage to die upon the field of battle, let him declare it freely; he will find indulgence from me and he will be dismissed at once. Those, on the contrary, who will lack the courage to execute my orders during an action must not count upon excuses attributing their flight to contrary winds or the disobedience of their sailors; for I swear by Mahomet and by the life of the Sultan that I will behead them as well as all his crew. But those who show courage in the performance of duty will be generously rewarded. Men, let all those who wish to follow me under these conditions rise and swear to obey me faithfully!" Exhorts to valor.

At these words, all the captains rose and swore to conquer or die with their great admiral.

"Yes!" he then exclaimed, "I see my brave and faithful companions once again! Go now. Return to your ships. Call your crews together; repeat my speech to them; receive their oath, and hold yourselves in readiness to set sail to-morrow!"

The King of Sweden supports the Turks.

The Tartars of the Crimea and the Kouban responded to Hassan's war-cry by attempts at insurrection against the Russians. Gustavus III., King of Sweden, was the only European king that dared embrace the Turkish cause. His flotilla seized some Russian frigates that cruised near Sweden; he himself, profiting by the moment when all the Empress's troops were on the march against the Ottomans, advanced without resistance as far as Fredericksham.

The Swedes threaten Russia.

The unprotected capital did not seem to be a safe refuge for Catherine; it was believed that she had gone to Moscow. The reverberations of the cannon of the Swedes in Finland were heard in St. Petersburg. The Empress showed herself equal to the danger and superior to fear.

Catherine's bravery.

"As I write to you the noise of the cannon makes the windows of the palace shake," she informed her correspondent, the Prince de Ligne, "and my hand does not tremble."

The Swedes are defeated.

Admiral Greig, an English officer in her service, finally sallied forth from Cronstadt, and defeated the Swedish squadron in the naval battle of Hogland. Peace was negoti-

ated. Gustavus, although vanquished at sea, imposed imperious conditions,—the restitution of a part of Finland to Sweden and the mediation of Sweden to put an end to Catherine's war against the Turks.

"What language!" exclaimed Catherine. "If the King of Sweden will come to Moscow, I will show him what a woman like myself on the wreck of a great Empire can do."

The army deserts Gustavus.

The Swedish army, worked upon by the Russian faction and the malcontents of the revolution that was fomenting in Sweden, suddenly abandoned Gustavus in his isolated heroism, and refused to march any longer against Russia. The King, disarmed, tremblingly led his troops back to Sweden.

Suwaroff defeats the Turks.

During this short war with Sweden, the Turks, despite Hassan's courage, succumbed at Otchakoff before the intrepid Suwaroff, whose name began to emerge from obscurity during this siege. Potemkine, generalissimo of all the armies on land and sea, despotically governed all the military operations of the subordinate generals, from Poland to the Dniester, from the Pruth to the Kouban. He dreamed, they say, of imitating Orloff in constructing a personal empire out of those vast fragments of Bessarabia, Crimea, Wallachia, Moldavia and Poland, torn from the Sarmates, the Tartars and the Ottomans. The Austrians, commanded by the Prince of Cobourg, who

became subsequently celebrated by his campaigns against the French Revolution, conquered Choksim. Potemkine finally took Otchakoff by assault, which he contemplated from afar as if it were a circus performance given to his favorites and mistresses. The assault, the pillage and the massacre of Otchakoff heaped up 45,000 corpses of Russians and Ottomans that were confused in the streets, the ramparts, and the river. On the one side there was no pity, and there was no plea for life on the other: death was the one arbiter between the two races.

Potemkine takes Otchakoff.

Europe, fascinated by writers in the pay of Russia, applauded this atrocious extermination of an innocent town by a satrap of the North. The Empress sent Potemkine a present of 100,000 roubles, a marshal's baton incrusted with diamonds and surrounded by a branch of laurel with golden leaves; she conferred upon him, moreover, the title of hetman of the Cossacks, taken from the old and perfidious Razomouski, who had betrayed Peter III., his benefactor. An aigrette of diamonds and the rank of general rewarded Suwaroff.

Suwaroff, encouraged by these distinctions from his sovereign, rapidly displayed a savage genius which turned him into the Russian Hannibal. The victory of Fokshani, won by Suwaroff against the Turks, confirmed his renown. That of Rimnik, where, with 30,000

Suwaroff's success.

Russians, he defeated 200,000 Turks, gave him the surname of Riminsky, and the title of Count of the Holy Roman Empire and Count of the Russian Empire.

The only bulwark of Turkey was Ismaïl. Potemkine besieged it seven months. Surrounded in his camp by a following of women and courtiers, he recalled the luxury and licentiousness of Antony in Egypt. One day when he was superstitiously consulting the decrees of fate by means of one of the fortune-tellers of his court, who read by means of cards, he suddenly cried out: "I know a more certain oracle than this!" And addressing the chief of his staff-officers, he ordered him to send Suwaroff and his army to Ismaïl. Siege of Ismail.

Suwaroff arrived and thus harangued his army: "No mercy to the vanquished, children!" he said with the ferocity of a barbarian stoic; "provisions are dear!" Suwaroff's ferocity.

In the evening Ismaïl was taken. The corpses of 15,000 of Suwaroff's soldiers were piled in the moats: 45,000 Ottomans—soldiers, citizens, men, women, old men and children—had diminished the price of provisions in the camp. "Madame," Potemkine wrote to Catherine, "proud Ismaïl is at your feet." Hassan died of grief upon learning of the fall of this bulwark of his country. The young French volunteer officers, Roger de Damas, the Langerons, and the Richelieus, flying into the camps of foreigners upon the first agitations of

the French Revolution, ornamented Potemkine's court, and proved their valor at the siege of Ismaïl.

Potemkine's triumphal journey.

Catherine, elated by the triumph of her generals, made public her wish to transplant the capital to Constantinople. After this campaign, Potemkine was called to the capital, and arrived there through a route that was illuminated throughout the length of the eight days' journey. Couriers, sent out twice every twenty-four hours ahead of him to report news of him to the Empress, ceaselessly came and went between St. Petersburg and the post where the triumphant general was spending the night. A deputation of ministers and senators went as far as Moscow to carry him congratulations and almost the homage of his sovereign. His entrance into the capital equalled the Roman triumphs after the wars in Asia.

Trial of Warren Hastings.

[In 1788, George III. goes mad and his son is appointed Regent; the trial of Warren Hastings begins; in France, Necker is recalled and the States-General are summoned for the following year; England, Holland and Germany form an alliance to maintain the peace of Europe, particularly for the protection of Turkey against Russia and Austria; Sweden also declares war against Russia on her invasion of Turkey, but is defeated, and, in turn, invaded by the Danes, whereupon she

retires; the Constitution of the United States is accepted by all the States except Rhode Island and North Carolina; convicts are landed at Botany Bay, and New South Wales is colonized. In 1789, George III. recovers his reason and resumes his powers; Gustavus of Sweden makes the monarchy absolute; Washington is elected President of the United States; the city of Washington is laid out and the Tammany Society is founded.]

Washington is elected President.

THE BEGINNING OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

(A.D. 1789)

WILLIAM FRANCIS COLLIER

LOUIS XVI. succeeded his grandfather on the 10th of May, 1774. Then twenty years of age, he had been already four years married to Marie Antoinette, the beautiful daughter of Maria Theresa. The young couple entered with the fresh joy of their years into the gayeties of the coronation, and all high-born France rang with the noise of feasting. But in every square mile of the land there were men whose wives and children cried to them in vain for bread.

Accession of Louis XVI.

Louis XV. had left a debt of four thousand millions of livres. It was a gigantic task—an unsolvable problem—to support an expensive court and government under this enormous pressure. Old Maurepas, the first prime minister of Louis XVI., tried it and failed. Turgot, a clever disciple of Voltaire and Diderot, failed too. The lawyer Malesherbes had to give place to Necker, a banker of Geneva, who reformed the taxation and restored public credit during his five years' tenure of

(1788)

office (1776-81). Then Calonne took the purse from Necker, who was dismissed by a court-cabal; and never was seen such a financier. When the King or Queen wanted money to meet a jeweller's bill, or pay the expenses of a ball, or what purpose you please, this smiling, witty minister never refused to honor the demand. His plan was a simple one, but by no means a new invention. We meet Calonnes every day of our lives. He borrowed on every side, without one thought of repayment. For a time this lasted. But the day came when even Calonne could not fill the royal treasury, and some new plan must be devised to make both ends meet, and stave off clamorous creditors; and the expedient adopted in this difficulty was the assembling of the Notables—the chief nobles and magistrates gathered from all parts of France, who met at Versailles. Calonne wanted to make up for the deficiency of revenue by a land-tax, but his proposal was rejected by these lords of the soil. They suggested other plans, which were adopted by the King.

Calonne as a financier.

Then came the dismissal of Calonne, who was soon succeeded by Brienne, Archbishop of Toulon. But Brienne could do nothing to stem the rising tide, and Necker was recalled in 1788. There was then only 250,000 francs in the royal treasury.

Necker yielded to the cry for a meeting of the States-General,—an assembly not unlike

Meeting of the States-General.

our English Parliament. There had been no such thing since the days of Richelieu. It was a sign that the day of despotism in France was, for a time at least, nearly over.

All over France the elections went on, and no man who wore a good coat was refused leave to vote. Three millions of the people sent up their deputies—lawyers, doctors, priests, farmers, writers for the press—to the great States-General, in which, for the first time during nearly two hundred years, the down-trodden *"tiers état"* was to sit in council with the nobles and the high clergy. After hearing a sermon in Notre Dame, they met in a great hall at Versailles. Here a difficulty arose. The deputies of the *tiers état* would not submit to be separated from the other houses. Sitting in their own chamber, they asked the coronets and mitres to join them; and, when the invitation was rejected in scorn, they formed themselves into the National Assembly. The King, forgetting the lesson he might have learned when, in early days, he read the History of England with Fleury, stationed soldiers at the door of the hall to keep out the members of Assembly. This was the fatal move. Bailly, then president, led them to the Jeu de Paume (Tennis Court), where they swore a solemn oath not to dissolve their Assembly until they had framed a constitution for France. Then the mitres and some of the coronets began to flock into the

The National Assembly.

Assembly hall. Among the latter sat the Duke of Orleans, infamously known as Philip Egalité,—a name he took to please the mob; and the Marquis de Lafayette, a hero of the American war. But greatest of the throng in fiery eloquence and political genius was the ugly debauchee, Honoré Gabriel, Comte de Mirabeau, who sat as deputy for the town of Aix. Robespierre, too,—the sea-green, as Carlyle loves to call him,—whose pinched face, deeply pitted with the small-pox, was soon to be the guiding-star of the Jacobins, had already in thin cracked voice made his maiden speech.

At last, after many muttered warnings, and long-gathering darkness, the tempest broke in awful fury. A fierce mob, whose souls were leavened with infidelity, and brutalized by changeless misery and never-satisfied hunger, raged through Paris streets. The spark which fired the mine was a rumor that the soldiers were marching to dissolve the Assembly. Necker, too, the sole hope of the starving people, had been dismissed. Cockades of green leaves, torn from the trees, became the badge of the rioters. Shots were heard in many quarters. An old man was killed by a bullet from the German guards.

The tempest breaks.

Then the grim old prison of the Bastile was stormed. Within its dark walls hundreds of innocent hearts had broken, pierced through with the iron of hopeless captivity. The ter-

rible *lettres de cachet*—sealed orders from the King to arrest and fling into prison without a trial, and often without any distinct charge—had packed its dungeons with wretched men during the late reign. Little wonder, then, that the first rush of the mob was to the Bastile.

Storming of the Bastile.

The flames then burst out all through the land, except in La Vendée. The *chateaux* of the nobles were pillaged and burned to the ground. Tortures were inflicted by the fierce peasants upon their former masters. The royal *Fleur de Lis* was trampled in the mud, and the *Tricolor* upraised.

March of women to Versailles.

One day in autumn a swarm of women gathered round the Hôtel-de-Ville, crying, "Bread! give bread!" It became the nucleus of a riotous crowd, surging with wild outcries through the streets. Then out came Millard with a drum, who said he would lead them to Versailles. Outside the barriers he strove to disperse them, but no—they would go on. Hungry and wet with heavy rain, when they found that the King and the Assembly would give them only words, they gathered round the palace. Some fool fired on them. Sweeping through an open gate, they spread through all the splendid rooms; and the Queen had scarcely time to escape by a secret door, when her bedchamber was filled with a fierce and squalid throng. The timely arrival of Lafayette, and the consent of the King to remove to Paris, alone quelled the tumult.

The next year saw sweeping changes in the constitution of France. The Assembly, of which Mirabeau was the master-spirit, proceeded to parcel out the kingdom into eighty-four departments of nearly equal size. Stripping the King of his patronage, they gave the appointment of new magistrates and officers to the people. Violent hands, too, were laid on the Church lands; and to create a currency, by which these might be purchased, paper bills—called *Assignats*—were issued. But these speedily became worth nothing, for nearly all the gold and silver coin was either carried out of France by the flying nobles, or buried in quiet corners of the field or the garden.

Changes in the French constitution

Hereditary titles were abolished; and no greetings were heard in the streets but "citizen" and "citizeness." On the first anniversary of the storming of the Bastile there was a grand pageant in the Champ de Mars, where the King, the Assembly, the soldiers, and the people swore a solemn oath to maintain the new constitution of France. The Jacobin club, so called from holding its meetings in a hall lately occupied by the Jacobin friars in Paris, now began to be formidable in its influence over the Assembly. Branch societies, all in correspondence with the central club, grew up in every corner of France. The dismissal of Necker, who was not radical enough in his policy to please the heads of the As-

The Jacobins.

sembly, took place in the last month of this most threatening year.

Death of Mirabeau.

Dark and still darker grew the sky. Mirabeau, "our little mother Mirabeau," as the fishwomen of the gallery used lovingly to call him, was made President of the Assembly in January, 1791. He exerted all his giant genius to quell the storm, whose rising gusts had been felt at the Bastile and Versailles; and poor Louis clung to the hope that this aristocratic darling of the rabble might yet save him. But Mirabeau died in April; and while the spring blossoms were brightening in all the fields of France, the Bourbon lilies drooped their golden heads. There seemed no hope for Louis but in flight. He fled in despair, but was recognized, stopped at Varennes, and brought back to Paris.

The Constituent Assembly, having sat for three years, passed a resolution dissolving itself (Sept. 29). The breaking of the nobles' power, the establishment of the National Guard, and the abolition of torture, *lettres de cachet,* and many oppressive taxes, were among the boons it had conferred on France. Its place was taken by a new body called the Legislative Assembly, which began to sit on the 1st of October.

The three parties.

Three distinct factions were already clearly marked out in this terrible time, and among these a strife began for pre-eminence. It was, in truth, a battle to the death.

The spirit of the vanished Assembly was embodied in the party of the *Feuillants*, who sat on the right of the tribune. These friends of limited monarchy numbered among them the National Guard and most of the officers of State. The *Girondists*, or Moderate Republicans, formed the second party. Occupying the highest seats in the hall, and therefrom called the "Mountain," sat the Red Republicans—chiefly members of the Jacobin and Cordeliers Clubs—whose rallying cry was "No King." The list of this third party contained those terrible names which make us shudder at their very sound, and turn sick with thoughts of blood.

Brunswick's invasion.

The sympathy of the neighboring sovereigns for the wretched Louis, and for the imperilled cause of monarchy, led them now to interfere. A great army of Austrians and Prussians, under the Duke of Brunswick, entered the French territory. Already the violent manifesto which Brunswick issued had roused the French to show a most determined front.

Matters then grew worse than ever at the centre of the Revolution. The Paris mob rose like a sea, swelled by some troops from Marseilles, who, first singing along Paris streets the war-hymn of Rouget de Lisle, caused it henceforth to be known as the Marseillaise. Amid pealing bells, and drums beating the *générale* in every street, they crowded to the Tuileries, whose steps were soon piled with the

Sack of the Tuileries.

bleeding bodies of the brave Swiss Guards. Louis escaped to the Assembly; but he was imprisoned with his family in the old palace of the Temple. A National Convention was summoned. Lafayette fled to the Netherlands, where he was arrested by the Austrians.

The National Convention

While the prisons of Paris were still wet with innocent blood, shed by order of the Jacobin leaders, Dumouriez, having taken command of the French army, was marshalling his men on the Belgian frontier. Crossing into Belgium, he inflicted a signal defeat upon the allies at the village of Jemappes

Battle of Jemappes.

(November 6). Acting as aide-de-camp of the French leader was the young Duke of Chartres, whom we know better in later days as Louis Philippe, King of the French.

The Assembly gave place to the National Convention, whose members were also elected by the people. The wildest orators of the clubs found here their fitting sphere. But three men stood far above the rest in lust of blood. These were Danton, Marat, and Robespierre. The lawyer, Danton, was a strong, thunder-voiced bully, who held office as Minister of Justice. Marat, a quack-doctor and editor of the *People's Friend,* was the most bloodthirsty villain of the lot. Robespierre we have already seen sitting on the benches of the Constituent Assembly, a very serpent coiled for his deadly spring. Now the time had come. Louis must die.

The trial of the King, for treason and conspiracy against the nation, began in December. He denied, with proud calmness, the justness of the charge. But denial was useless before judges such as his. Death was the sentence of the court after a discussion of some days. At ten o'clock on a January morning he was brought in a carriage to the Place de Louis XV., where the guillotine awaited its noblest victim. Before the fatal knife fell, he tried to address the crowd, who were stunned for the time into deep silence; but the incessant rattle of drums drowned his voice, and in a few seconds more the head of poor Louis Capet—so his Republican murderers called him—rolled bleeding in the sawdust.

Execution of Louis XVI.

THE TAKING OF THE BASTILLE

(A.D. 1789)

THOMAS CARLYLE

IN any case, behold, about nine in the morning, our National Volunteers rolling in long, wide flood southwestward to the Hotel des Invalides; in search of the one thing needful. King's Procureur, M. Ethys de Corny, and officials are there; the Curé of Saint-Etienne du Mont marches unpacific at the head of his militant Parish; the clerks of the Basoche in red coats we see marching, now Volunteers of the Basoche; the Volunteers of the Palais Royal:—National Volunteers, numerable by tens of thousands; of one heart and mind. The King's muskets are the Nation's; think, old M. de Sombreuil, how, in this extremity, thou wilt refuse them! Old M. de Sombreuil would fain hold parley, send couriers; but it skills not: the walls are scaled, no Invalide firing a shot; the gates must be flung open. Patriotism rushes in, tumultuous, from grunsel up to ridge-tile, through all rooms and passages; rummaging distractedly for arms. What cellar, or what cranny can escape it? The arms are found; all safe there; lying

The National Volunteers.

To arms.

packed in straw—apparently with a view to being burnt! More ravenous than famishing lions over dead prey, the multitude, with clangor and vociferation, pounces on them; struggling, dashing, clutching:—to the jamming-up, to the pressure, fracture and probable extinction of the weaker Patriot. And so, with such protracted clash of deafening, most discordant Orchestra-music, the Scene is changed; and eight-and-twenty thousand sufficient firelocks are on the shoulders of as many National Guards, lifted thereby out of darkness into fiery light.

Let Besenval look at the glitter of these muskets, as they flash by! Gardes Françaises, it is said, have cannon levelled on him, ready to open, if need were, from the other side of the river. Motionless sits he; "astonished," one may flatter one's self, "at the proud bearing (*fière contenance*) of the Parisians." —And now, to the Bastille, ye intrepid Parisians. There grapeshot still threatens: thither all men's thoughts and steps are now tending.

"To the Bastille!"

Old de Launay, as we hinted, withdrew "into his interior" soon after midnight of Sunday. He remains there ever since, hampered, as all military gentlemen now are, in the saddest conflict of uncertainties. The Hôtel-de-Ville "invites" him to admit National Soldiers, which is a soft name for surrendering. On the other hand, his Majesty's orders were precise. His garrison is but

eighty-two old Invalides, reinforced by thirty-two young Swiss; his walls indeed are nine feet thick, he has cannon and powder; but, alas, only one day's provision of victuals. The city too is French, the poor garrison mostly French. Rigorous old De Launay, think what thou wilt do!

The garrison.

All morning, since nine, there has been a cry everywhere: "To the Bastille!" Repeated "deputations of citizens" have been here, passionate for arms; whom De Launay has got dismissed by soft speeches through portholes. Toward noon, Elector Thuriot de la Rosière gains admittance; finds De Launay indisposed for surrender; nay, disposed for blowing up the place rather. Thuriot mounts with him to the battlements: heaps of paving-stones, old iron and missiles lie piled; cannon all duly levelled; in every embrasure a cannon,—only drawn back a little. But outward, behold, O Thuriot, how the multitude flows on, welling through every street; tocsin furiously pealing, all drums beating the *générale:* the Suburb Saint-Antoine rolling hitherward wholly, as one man! Such vision (spectral yet real) thou, O Thuriot, as from thy Mount of Vision, beholdest in this moment; prophetic of what other Phantasmagories, and loud-gibbering Spectral Realities, which thou yet beholdest not, but shalt. *"Que voulez-vous?"* said De Launay, turning pale at the sight, with an air of reproach, almost of menace. "Monsieur,"

said Thuriot, rising into the moral-sublime, "what mean *you?*" Consider if I could not precipitate *both* of us from this height,—"say only a hundred feet, exclusive of the walled ditch." Whereupon De Launay fell silent. Thuriot shows himself from some pinnacle, to comfort the multitude becoming suspicious, fremescent; then descends; departs with protest; with warning addressed also to the Invalides,—on whom, however, it produces but a mixed indistinct impression. The old heads are none of the clearest; besides, it is said, De Launay has been profuse of beverages (*prodigua des buissons*). They think they will not fire,—if not fired on, if they can help it; but must, on the whole, be ruled considerably by circumstances. De Launay's perplexities.

Woe to thee, De Launay, in such an hour, if thou canst not, taking some one firm decision, *rule* circumstances! Soft speeches will not serve; hard grapeshot is questionable; but hovering between the two is *un*questionable. Ever wilder swells the tide of men; their infinite hum waxing ever louder, into imprecations, perhaps into crackle of stray musketry,—which latter, on walls nine feet thick, can not do execution. The Outer Drawbridge has been lowered for Thuriot; new *deputation of citizens* (it is the third, and noisiest of all) penetrates that way into the Outer Court: soft speeches producing no clearance of these, De Launay gives fire; pulls up his Drawbridge. De Launay opens fire.

A slight sputter;—which has *kindled* the too combustible chaos; made it a roaring fire-chaos! Bursts forth Insurrection, at sight of its own blood (for there were deaths by that sputter of fire), into endless, rolling explosion of musketry, distraction, execration;—and overhead, from the Fortress, let one great gun, with its grapeshot, go booming, to show what we *could* do. The Bastille is besieged!

On, then, all Frenchmen, that have hearts in your bodies! Roar with all your throats, of cartilage and metal, ye Sons of Liberty, stir spasmodically whatsoever of utmost faculty is in you, soul, body, or spirit; for it is the hour! Smite, thou Louis Tournay, cartwright of the Marais, old soldier of the Regiment Dauphiné; smite at the Outer Drawbridge chain, though the fiery hail whistles round thee! Never, over nave or felloe, did thy axe strike such a stroke. Down with it, man; down with it to Orcus: let the whole accursed Edifice sink thither, and Tyranny be swallowed up forever! Mounted, some say, on the roof of the guard-room, some "on bayonets stuck into joints of the wall," Louis Tournay smites, brave Aubin Bonnemère (also an old soldier) seconding him: the chain yields, breaks; the huge Drawbridge slams down, thundering (*avec fracas*). Glorious: and yet, alas, it is still but the outworks. The Eight grim Towers, with their Invalide musketry, their paving-stones and cannon-mouths, still soar aloft

The drawbridge falls.

intact;—Ditch yawning impassable, stone-faced; the inner Drawbridge with its *back* toward us: the Bastille is still to take!

To describe this Siege of the Bastille (thought to be one of the most important in history), perhaps transcends the talent of mortals. Could one but, after infinite reading, get to understand so much as the plan of the building! But there is open Esplanade, at the end of the Rue Saint-Antoine; there are such Forecourts, *Cour Avancé, Cour de l'Orme,* arched Gateway (where Louis Tournay now fights); then new drawbridges, dormant-bridges, rampart-bastions, and the grim Eight Towers; a labyrinthic Mass, high-frowning there, of all ages from twenty years to four hundred and twenty;—beleaguered, in this its last hour, as we said, by mere Chaos come again! Ordnance of all calibres; throats of all capacities; men of all plans, every man his own engineer; seldom since the war of Pygmies and Cranes was there seen so anomalous a thing. Half-pay Elie is home for a suit of regimentals; no one would heed him in colored clothes: half-pay Hulin is haranguing Gardes Françaises in the Place de Grève. Frantic Patriots pick up the grapeshots; bear them, still hot (or seemingly so), to the Hôtel-de-Ville:—Paris, you perceive, is to be burnt! Flesselles is "pale to the very lips"; for the roar of the multitude grows deep. Paris wholly has got to the acme of its frenzy;

Plan of the prison.

Paris in frenzy.

whirled, all ways, by panic madness. At every street-barricade, there whirls simmering a minor whirlpool,—strengthening the barricade, since God knows what is coming; and all minor whirlpools play distractedly into that grand Fire-Mahlstrom which is lashing round the Bastille.

And so it lashes and it roars. Cholat, the wine-merchant, has become an impromptu cannoneer. See Georget, of the Marine Service, fresh from Brest, ply the King of Siam's cannon. Singular (if we were not used to the like): Georget lay, last night, taking his ease at his inn; the King of Siam's cannon also lay, knowing nothing of *him,* for a hundred years. Yet now, at the right instant, they have got together, and discourse eloquent music. For, hearing what was toward, Georget sprang from the Brest Diligence, and ran. Gardes Françaises also will be here, with real artillery: were not the walls so thick!—Upward from the Esplanade, horizontally from all neighboring roofs and windows, flashes one irregular deluge of musketry, without effect. The Invalides lie flat, firing comparatively at their ease from behind stone; hardly through portholes show the tip of a nose. We fall, shot; and make no impression!

Conflagration rages.

Let conflagration rage; of whatsoever is combustible! Guard-rooms are burnt; Invalides mess-rooms. A distracted "Perukemaker with two fiery torches" is for burning

"the saltpetres of the Arsenal";—had not a woman run screaming; had not a patriot, with some tincture of Natural Philosophy, instantly struck the wind out of him (butt of musket on pit of stomach), overturned barrels, and stayed the devouring element. A young beautiful lady, seized escaping in these Outer Courts, and thought falsely to be De Launay's daughter, shall be burnt in De Launay's sight; she lies swooned on a paillasse: but again a Patriot—it is brave Aubin Bonnemère, the old soldier—dashes in, and rescues her. Straw is burnt; three cartloads of it, hauled thither, go up in white smoke: almost to the choking of Patriotism itself; so that Elie had, with singed brows, to drag back one cart; and Réole, the "gigantic haberdasher," another. Smoke as of Tophet; confusion as of Babel; noise as of the Crack of Doom!

Futile deputations.

Blood flows; the aliment of new madness. The wounded are carried into houses of the Rue Cerisaie; the dying leave their last mandate not to yield till the accursed Stronghold fall. And yet, alas, how fall? The walls are so thick! Deputations, three in number, arrive from the Hôtel-de-Ville; Abbé Fauchet (who was of one) can say, with that almost superhuman courage of benevolence. These wave their Townflag in the arched Gateway; and stand, rolling their drum; but to no purpose. In such Crack of Doom, De Launay can not hear them: they return, with justified

rage, the whew of lead still singing in their ears. What to do? The Firemen are here, squirting with their fire-pumps on the Invalides' cannon, to wet the touchholes; they unfortunately can not squirt so high; but produce only clouds of spray. Individuals of classical knowledge propose *catapults*. Santerre, the sonorous Brewer of the Suburb Saint-Antoine, advises rather that the place be fired, by a "mixture of phosphorus and oil-of-turpentine spouted up through forcing-pumps": O Spinola-Santerre, hast thou the mixture *ready?* Every man his own engineer! And still the fire-deluge abates not: even women are firing, and Turks; at least one woman (with her sweetheart), and one Turk. Gardes Françaises have come: real cannon, real cannoneers. Usher Maillard is busy; half-pay Eli, half-pay Hulin rage in the midst of thousands.

Artillery arrives.

How the great Bastille Clock ticks (inaudible) in its Inner Court there, at its ease, hour after hour, as if nothing special, for it or the world, were passing! It tolled One when the firing began; and is now pointing toward Five, and still the firing slakes not.—Far down, in their vaults, the seven Prisoners hear muffled din as of earthquakes; their Turnkeys answer vaguely.

Woe to thee, De Launay, with thy poor hundred Invalides! Broglie is distant, and his ears heavy: Besenval hears, but can send no help. One poor troop of Hussars has crept,

reconnoitring, cautiously along the Quais, as far as the Pont Neuf. "We are come to join you," said the Captain; for the crowd seems shoreless. A large-headed dwarfish individual, of smoke-bleared aspect, shambles forward, opening his blue lips, for there is sense in him; and croaks: "Alight, then, and give up your arms!" The Hussar-Captain is too happy to be escorted to the Barriers, and dismissed on parole. Who the squat individual was? Men answer, It is M. Marat, author of the excellent pacific *Avis au Peuple!* Great truly, O thou remarkable Dogleech, is this thy day of emergence and new-birth: and yet this same day come four years!—But let the curtains of the Future hang.

Marat comes to the front.

What shall De Launay do? One thing only De Launay could have done: what he said he would do. Fancy him sitting, from the first, with lighted taper, within arm's-length of the Powder-Magazine; motionless, like old Roman Senator, or Bronze Lamp-holder; coldly apprising Thuriot, and all men, by a slight motion of his eye, what his resolution was:—Harmless he sat there, while unharmed; but the King's Fortress, meanwhile, could, might, would, or should in nowise be surrendered, save to the King's Messenger: one old man's life is worthless so it be lost with honor; but think, ye brawling *canaille,* how will it be when a whole Bastille springs skyward!—In such statuesque, taper-holding attitude, one

De Launay's irresolution.

fancies De Launay might have left Thuriot, the red Clerks of the Basoche, Curé of Saint-Stephen and all the tagrag-and-bobtail of the world, to work their will.

And yet, withal, he could not do it. Hast thou considered how each man's heart is so tremulously responsive to the hearts of all men; hast thou noted how omnipotent is the very sound of many men? How their shriek of indignation palsies the strong-soul; their howl of contumely withers with unfelt pangs? The Ritter Glück confessed that the ground-tone of the noblest passage, in one of his noblest Operas, was the voice of the Populace he had heard at Vienna, crying to their Kaiser: "Bread! Bread!" Great is the combined voice of men; the utterance of their *instincts,* which are truer than their *thoughts:* it is the greatest a man encounters, among the sounds and shadows which make up this World of Time. He who can resist that has his footing somewhere *beyond* Time. De Launay could not do it. Distracted, he hovers between two; hopes in the middle of despair; surrenders not his Fortress; declares that he will blow it up. Unhappy old De Launay, it is the death-agony of thy Bastille and thee! Jail, Jailering and Jailer, all three, such as they may have been, must finish.

The Voice of the Populace.

For four hours now has the World-Bedlam roared: call it the World-Chimæra, blowing fire! The poor Invalides have sunk under

their battlements, or rise only with reversed muskets: they have made a white flag of napkins; go beating the *chamade,* or seeming to beat, for one can hear nothing. The very Swiss at the Portcullis look weary of firing; disheartened in the fire-deluge: a porthole at the Drawbridge is opened, as by one that would speak. See Huissier Maillard, the shifty man! On his plank, swinging over the abyss of that stone Ditch; plank resting on parapet, balanced by weight of Patriots,—he hovers perilous: such a Dove toward such an Ark! Deftly, thou shifty Usher: one man already fell; and lies smashed, far down there, against the masonry! Usher Maillard falls not: deftly, unerring he walks, with outspread palm. The Swiss holds a paper through his porthole; the shifty Usher snatches it, and returns. Terms of surrender: Pardon, immunity to all! Are they accepted?—*"Foi d'officier* (On the word of an officer)," answers half-pay Hulin,—or half-pay Elie, for men do not agree on it,—"they are!" Sinks the Drawbridge—Usher Maillard bolting it when down; rushes in the living deluge: the Bastille is fallen! *Victoire! La Bastille est prise!*

Surrender of the Bastille.

[In 1790, Russia makes peace with Sweden. In America, the first petitions are presented against slavery. Vancouver explores the northwest coast of America. The second Mysore war begins.]

THE CONQUEST OF MYSORE

(A.D. 1790—1799)

SIR WILLIAM WILSON HUNTER

THE second Mysore war of 1790-1792 is noteworthy on two accounts. Lord Cornwallis, the Governor-General, led the British army in person with a pomp and a magnificence of supply which recalled the campaigns of Aurangzeb. The two great southern powers, the Nizám of the Deccan and the Maratha Confederacy, co-operated as allies of the British. In the end, Tipú Sultán submitted when Lord Cornwallis had commenced to beleaguer his capital. He agreed to yield one-half of his dominions to be divided among the allies, and to pay three millions sterling toward the cost of the war. These conditions he fulfilled, but ever afterward he burned to be revenged upon his English conquerors. Lord Cornwallis retired in 1793, and was succeeded by Sir John Shore, afterward Lord Teignmouth.

Second Mysore war.

The period of Sir John Shore's rule as governor-general, from 1793 to 1798, was uneventful. In 1798, Lord Mornington, better known

as the Marquess Wellesley, arrived in India, already inspired with imperial projects which were destined to change the map of the country. Lord Mornington was the friend and favorite of Pitt, from whom he is thought to have derived his far-reaching political vision, and his antipathy to the French name. From the first he laid down as his guiding principle, that the English must be the one paramount power in the Indian peninsula, and the Native princes could only retain the insignia of sovereignty by surrendering their political independence. The history of India since his time has been but the gradual development of this policy, which received its finishing touch when Queen Victoria was proclaimed Empress of India on the 1st of January, 1877.

Marquess Wellesley, 1798-1805.

To frustrate the possibility of a French invasion in India, led by Napoleon in person, was the immediate governing idea of Wellesley's foreign policy. France at this time, and for many years later, filled the place afterward occupied by Russia in the minds of Indian statesmen. Nor was the danger so remote as might now be thought. French regiments guarded and overawed the Nizám of Haidarábád. The soldiers of Sindhia, the military head of the Maráthá Confederacy, were disciplined and led by French adventurers. Tipú Sultán of Mysore carried on a secret correspondence with the French Directory, allowed a tree of liberty to be planted in his dominions,

French influence in India.

Napoleon's schemes.

and enrolled himself in a republican club as "Citizen Tipú." The islands of Mauritius and Bourbon afforded a convenient half-way rendezvous for French intrigue and for the assembling of a hostile expedition. Above all, Napoleon Bonaparte was then in Egypt, dreaming of the Indian conquests of Alexander the Great, and no man knew in what direction he might turn his hitherto unconquered legions.

Wellesley conceived the scheme of crushing forever the French hopes in Asia, by placing himself at the head of a great Indian confederacy. In lower Bengal, the sword of Clive and the policy of Warren Hastings had made the English paramount. Before the end of the century, our power was consolidated from the seaboard to Benares, high up the Gangetic valley. Beyond our frontier, the Nawáb Wasír of Oudh had agreed to pay a subsidy for the aid of British troops. This sum in 1797 amounted to £760,000 a year; and the Nawáb, being always in arrears, entered into negotiations for a cession of territory in lieu of a cash payment. In 1801, the treaty of Lucknow made over to the British the Doáb, or fertile tract between the Ganges and the Jumna, together with Rohilkhand. In Southern India, our possessions were chiefly confined, before Lord Wellesley, to the coast districts of Madras and Bombay. Wellesley resolved to make the British su-

Treaty of Lucknow.

preme as far as Delhi in Northern India, and to compel the great powers of the south to enter into subordinate relations to the Company's government. The intrigues of the native princes gave him his opportunity for carrying out this plan without a breach of faith. The time had arrived when the English must either become supreme in India, or be driven out of it. The Mughal Empire was completely broken up; and the sway had to pass either to the local Muhammadan governors of that empire, or to the Hindu Confederacy, represented by the Maráthás, or to the British. Lord Wellesley determined that it should pass to the British.

Lord Wellesley's policy.

His work in Northern India was at first easy. The treaty of Lucknow in 1801 made us territorial rulers as far as the heart of the present Northwestern Provinces, and established our political influence in Oudh. Beyond those limits, the northern branches of the Maráthás practically held sway, with the puppet Emperor in their hands. Lord Wellesley left them untouched for a few years until the second Maráthá war (1801-1804) gave him an opportunity for dealing effectively with their nation as a whole. In Southern India, he saw that the Nizám at Haidarábád stood in need of his protection, and he converted him into a useful follower throughout the succeeding struggle. The other Muhammadan power of the south, Tipú Sultán

of Mysore, could not be so easily handled. Lord Wellesley resolved to crush him, and had ample provocation for so doing. The third power of Southern India—namely, the Maráthá Confederacy—was so loosely organized that Lord Wellesley seems at first to have hoped to live on terms with it. When several years of fitful alliance had convinced him that he had to choose between the supremacy of the Maráthás or of the British in Southern India, he did not hesitate to decide.

Treaty with the Nizam (1798).

Lord Wellesley first addressed himself to the weakest of the three southern powers, the Nizám of Haidarábád. Here he won a diplomatic success, which turned a possible rival into a subservient ally. The French battalions at Haidarábád were disbanded, and the Nizám bound himself by treaty not to take any European into his service without the consent of the English Government,—a clause since inserted in every engagement entered into with native powers.

Third Mysore war (1799).

Wellesley next turned the whole weight of his resources against Tipú, whom Cornwallis had defeated but not subdued. Tipú's intrigues with the French were laid bare, and he was given an opportunity of adhering to the new subsidiary system. On his refusal war was declared, and Wellesley came down in viceregal state to Madras to organize the expedition in person, and to watch over the course of events. Our English army marched

into Mysore from Madras, accompanied by a contingent from the Nizám. Another advanced from the western coast. Tipú, after a feeble resistance in the field, retired into Seringapatam, his capital, and, when it was stormed, died fighting bravely in the breach. Since the battle of Plassey, no event so greatly impressed the natives as the capture of Seringapatam, which won for General Harris an eventual peerage, and for Wellesley an Irish marquessate. In dealing with the territories of Tipú, Wellesley acted with moderation. The central portion, forming the old State of Mysore, was restored to an infant representative of the Hindu Rájás, whom Haidar Ali had dethroned; the rest of Tipú's dominion was partitioned between the Nizám, the Maráthás, and the English. At about the same time, the Karnátik, or the part of South-eastern India ruled by the Nawáb of Arcot, and also the principality of Tanjore, were placed under direct British administration, thus constituting the Madras Presidency almost as it has existed to the present day. The sons of the slain Tipú were treated by Lord Wellesley with paternal tenderness. They received a magnificent allowance, with a semi-royal establishment, first at Vellore, and afterward in Calcutta. The last of them, Prince Ghulám Muhammad, who survived to 1877, was long a well-known citizen of Calcutta, and an active justice of the peace.

Death of Tipu.

The Madras Presidency.

United States Constitution amended.

[In 1791, ten amendments are added to the Constitution of the United States; an insurrection breaks out in San Domingo. In 1792, Gustavus III. of Sweden is assassinated; Catherine II. begins to negotiate with Austria and Prussia for the final partition of Poland; Godoy becomes supreme in Spain.]

THE BATTLE OF VALMY

(A.D. 1792)

E. S. CREASY

FRANCE now calls herself a republic. She first assumed that title on the 20th of September, 1792, on the very day on which the battle of Valmy was fought and won. To that battle the democratic spirit which in 1848, as well as in 1792, proclaimed the Republic in Paris, owed its preservation, and it is thence that the imperishable activity of its principles may be dated.

France becomes a republic.

Far different seemed the prospects of democracy in Europe on the eve of that battle, and far different would have been the present position and influence of the French nation, if Brunswick's columns had charged with more boldness, or the lines of Dumouriez resisted with less firmness. When France, in 1792, declared war with the great powers of Europe, she was far from possessing that splendid military organization which the experience of a few revolutionary campaigns taught her to assume. The army of the old monarchy had, during the latter part of the reign of Louis XV., sunk into gradual decay,

both in numerical force and in efficiency of equipment and spirit. The laurels gained by the auxiliary regiments which Louis XVI. sent to the American war did but little to restore the general tone of the army. The insubordination and license which the revolt of the French guards, and the participation of other troops in many of the first excesses of the Revolution, introduced among the soldiery, were soon rapidly disseminated through all the ranks. Under the Legislative Assembly, every complaint of the soldier against his officer, however frivolous or ill-founded, was listened to with eagerness and investigated with partiality, on the principles of liberty and equality. Discipline accordingly became more and more relaxed; and the dissolution of several of the old corps, under the pretext of their being tainted with an aristocratic feeling, aggravated the confusion and inefficiency of the war department. Many of the most effective regiments during the last period of the monarchy had consisted of foreigners. These had either been slaughtered in defence of the throne against insurrections, like the Swiss, or had been disbanded, and had crossed the frontier to recruit the forces which were assembling for the invasion of France. Above all, the emigration of the *noblesse* had stripped the French army of nearly all its officers of high rank, and of the greatest portion of its subalterns. Above twelve thousand of the

Condition of the French army.

high-born youth of France, who had been trained to regard military command as their exclusive patrimony, and to whom the nation had been accustomed to look up as its natural guides and champions in the storm of war, were now marshalled beneath the banner of Condé and the other emigrant princes for the overthrow of the French armies and the reduction of the French capital. Their successors in the French regiments and brigades had as yet acquired neither skill nor experience; they possessed neither self-reliance, nor the respect of the men who were under them.

Such was the state of the wrecks of the old army; but the bulk of the forces with which France began the war consisted of raw insurrectionary levies, which were even less to be depended on. The Carmagnoles, as the revolutionary volunteers were called, flocked, indeed, readily to the frontier from every department when the war was proclaimed, and the fierce leaders of the Jacobins shouted that the country was in danger. They were full of zeal and courage, "heated and excited by the scenes of the Revolution, and inflamed by the florid eloquence, the songs, dances, and signal-words with which it had been celebrated." But they were utterly undisciplined, and turbulently impatient of superior authority or systematic control. Many ruffians, also, who were sullied with participation in the most sanguinary horrors of Paris, joined

The Carmagnoles.

the camps and were pre-eminent alike for misconduct before the enemy and for savage insubordination against their own officers. On one occasion during the campaign of Valmy, eight battalions of federates, intoxicated with massacre and sedition, joined the forces under Dumouriez, and soon threatened to uproot all discipline, saying openly that the ancient officers were traitors, and that it was necessary to purge the army, as they had Paris, of its aristocrats. Dumouriez posted these battalions apart from the others, placed a strong force of cavalry behind them and two pieces of cannon on their flank. Then, affecting to review them, he halted at the head of the line, surrounded by all his staff, and an escort of a hundred hussars. "Fellows," he said, "for I will not call you either citizens or soldiers, you see before you this artillery, behind you this cavalry; you are stained with crimes, and I do not tolerate here assassins or executioners. I know that there are scoundrels among you charged to excite you to crime. Drive them from among you, or denounce them to me, for I shall hold you responsible for their conduct."

Insubordination of the army.

In the hopes of profiting by the unprepared state of Austria, then the mistress of the Netherlands, the French opened the campaign of 1792, by an invasion of Flanders, with forces whose muster-rolls showed a numerical overwhelming superiority to the enemy, and seemed to promise a speedy con-

The French invade Flanders.

quest of that old battlefield of Europe. But the first flash of an Austrian sabre or the first sound of an Austrian gun was enough to discomfit the French. Their first corps, four thousand strong, that advanced from Lille across the frontier, came suddenly upon a far inferior detachment of the Austrian garrison of Tournay. Not a shot was fired, nor a bayonet levelled. With one simultaneous cry of Panic, the French broke and ran headlong back to Lille, where they completed the specimen of insubordination which they had given in the field by murdering their general and several of their chief officers. On the same day, another division under Biron, mustering ten thousand sabres and bayonets, saw a few Austrian skirmishers reconnoitring their position. The French advanced posts had scarcely given and received a volley, and only a few balls from the enemy's field-pieces had fallen among the lines, when two regiments of French dragoons raised the cry "We are betrayed," galloped off, and were followed in disgraceful rout by the rest of the whole army. Similar panics, or repulses almost equally discreditable, occurred whenever Rochambeau, or Luckner, or Lafayette, the earliest French generals in the war, brought their troops into the presence of the enemy.

Cowardice of the untrained troops.

Meanwhile the allied sovereigns had gradually collected on the Rhine a veteran and finely disciplined army for the invasion of

France, which for numbers, equipment, and martial renown, both of generals and men, was equal to any that Germany had ever sent forth to conquer. Their design was to strike boldly and decisively at the heart of France, and, penetrating the country through the Ardennes, to proceed by Châlons upon Paris. The obstacles that lay in their way seemed insignificant. The disorder and imbecility of the French armies had been even augmented by the forced flight of Lafayette and a sudden change of generals. The only troops posted on or near the track by which the allies were about to advance were the 23,000 men at Sedan, whom Lafayette had commanded, and a corps of 20,000 near Metz, the command of which had just been transferred from Luckner to Kellermann. There were only three fortresses which it was necessary for the allies to capture or mask—Sedan, Longwy, and Verdun. The defences and stores of all these three were known to be wretchedly dismantled and insufficient; and when once these feeble barriers were overcome and Châlons reached, a fertile and unprotected country seemed to invite the invaders to that "military promenade to Paris" which they gayly talked of accomplishing.

The allies cross the French frontier.

At the end of July, the allied army, having fully completed all preparations for the campaign, broke up from its cantonments, and, marching from Luxembourg upon Longwy,

crossed the French frontier. Sixty thousand Prussians, trained in the schools, and many of them under the eye of the great Frederic, heirs of the glories of the Seven Years' War, and universally esteemed the best troops in Europe, marched in one column against the central point of attack. Forty-five thousand Austrians, the greater part of whom were picked troops, and had served in the recent Turkish war, supplied two formidable corps that supported the flanks of the Prussians. There was also a powerful body of Hessians; and leagued with the Germans against the Parisian democracy came 15,000 of the noblest and the bravest among the sons of France. In these corps of emigrants, many of the highest born of the French nobility, scions of houses whose chivalric trophies had for centuries filled Europe with renown, served as rank and file.

Troops of the allies.

Over this imposing army the allied sovereigns placed as generalissimo the Duke of Brunswick, one of the minor reigning princes of Germany, a statesman of no mean capacity, and who had acquired in the Seven Years' War a military reputation second only to that of the great Frederic himself.

Moving majestically forward, the allies appeared before Longwy on the 20th of August, and the dispirited and despondent garrison opened the gates of that fortress to them after the first shower of bombs. On the 2d of

Longwy captured.

Verdun capitulates.

September, the still more important stronghold of Verdun capitulated after scarcely the shadow of resistance.

Brunswick's superior force was now interposed between Kellermann's troops on the left and the other French army near Sedan, which Lafayette's flight had, for a time, left destitute of a commander. It was in the power of the German general, by striking with an overwhelming mass to the right and left, to crush in succession each of these weak armies, and the allies might then have marched irresistibly and unresisted upon Paris. But at this crisis Dumouriez, the new commander-in-chief of the French, arrived at the camp near Sedan, and commenced a series of movements by which he reunited the dispersed and disorganized forces of his country, checked the Prussian columns at the very moment when the last obstacle to their triumph seemed to have given way, and finally rolled back the tide of invasion far across the enemy's frontier.

Dumouriez checks the Prussians.

The French fortresses had fallen; but nature herself still offered to brave and vigorous defenders of the land the means of opposing a barrier to the progress of the allies. A ridge of broken ground, called the Argonne, extends from the vicinity of Sedan toward the southwest for about fifteen or sixteen leagues. The country of L'Argonne has now been cleared and drained; but in 1792 it was

Description of L'Argonne.

thickly wooded, and the lower portions of its unequal surface were filled with rivulets and marshes. It thus presented a natural barrier of from four to five leagues broad, which was absolutely impenetrable to an army, except by a few defiles, such as an inferior force might easily fortify and defend. Dumouriez succeeded in marching his army from Sedan behind the Argonne, and in occupying its passes, while the Prussians still lingered on the northeastern side of the forest line. Ordering Kellermann to wheel round from Metz to St. Menehould, and the reinforcements from the interior and extreme north also to concentrate at that spot, Dumouriez trusted to assemble a powerful force in the rear of the southwest extremity of the Argonne, while with the twenty-five thousand men under his immediate command he held the enemy at bay before the passes, or forced him to a long circumvolution round one extremity of the forest ridge, during which favorable opportunities of assailing his flank were almost certain to occur. Dumouriez fortified the principal defiles, and boasted of the Thermopylæ which he had found for the invaders; but the simile was nearly rendered fatally complete for the defending force. A pass, which was thought of inferior importance, had been but slightly manned, and an Austrian corps, under Clairfayt, forced it after some sharp fighting. Dumouriez with great difficulty saved him-

Dumouriez occupies the passes.

The Austrians gain a pass.

Retreat of Dumouriez.

self from being enveloped and destroyed by the hostile columns that now pushed through the forest. But instead of despairing at the failure of his plans, and falling back into the interior, to be completely severed from Kellermann's army, to be hunted as a fugitive under the walls of Paris by the victorious Germans, and to lose all chance of ever rallying his dispirited troops, he resolved to cling to the difficult country in which the armies still were grouped, to force a junction with Kellermann and so place himself at the head of a force which the invaders would not dare to disregard, and by which he might drag them back from the advance on Paris, which he had not been able to bar. Accordingly, by a rapid movement to the south, during which, in his own words, "France was within a hair's-breadth of destruction," and after with difficulty checking several panics of his troops, in which they ran by thousands at the sight of a few Prussian hussars, Dumouriez succeeded in establishing headquarters in a strong position at St. Menehould protected by the marshes and shallows of the rivers Aisne and Aube, beyond which, to the northwest, rose a firm and elevated plateau, called Dampiere's camp, admirably situated for commanding the road by Châlons to Paris, and where he intended to post Kellermann's army so soon as it came up.

The news of the retreat of Dumouriez from

the Argonne passes, and the panic flight of some divisions of his troops, spread rapidly throughout the country, and Kellermann, who believed that his comrade's army had been annihilated, and feared to fall among the victorious masses of the Prussians, had halted on his march from Metz when almost close to St. Menehould. He had actually commenced a retrograde movement when couriers from his commander-in-chief checked him from the fatal course: and then continuing to wheel round the rear and left flank of the troops at St. Menehould, Kellermann, with twenty thousand of the army of Metz, and some thousands of volunteers, who had joined him in the march, made his appearance to the west of Dumouriez on the very evening when Westermann and Thouvenot, two of the staff officers of Dumouriez, galloped in with the tidings that Brunswick's army had come through the upper passes of the Argonne in full force and was deploying on the heights of La Lune, a chain of eminences that stretched obliquely from southwest to northeast, opposite the high ground which Dumouriez held, also opposite, but at a shorter distance from the position which Kellermann was designed to occupy.

Kellermann halts.

Advance of Brunswick.

The allies were now, in fact, much nearer to Paris than were the French troops themselves; but, as Dumouriez had foreseen, Brunswick deemed it unsafe to march upon the capital with so large a hostile force left in his rear,

between his advancing columns and his base of operations. The young King of Prussia, who was in the allied camp, and the emigrant princes, eagerly advocated an instant attack upon the nearest French general. Kellermann had laid himself unnecessarily open, by advancing beyond Dampierre's camp, which Dumouriez had designed for him, and moving across the Aube to the plateau of Valmy, a post inferior in strength and space to that which he had left, and which brought him close upon the Prussian lines, leaving him separated by a dangerous interval from the troops under Dumouriez himself. It seemed easy for the Prussian army to overwhelm him while thus isolated, and then they might surround and crush Dumouriez at their leisure.

Kellermann's open position.

Accordingly, the right wing of the allied army moved forward in the gray of the morning of the 20th of September, to gain Kellermann's left flank and rear, and cut him off from retreat upon Châlons, while the rest of the army, moving from the heights of La Lune, which here converge semicircularly round the plateau of Valmy, were to assail his position in front, and interpose between him and Dumouriez. An unexpected collision between some of the advanced cavalry on each side in the low ground warned Kellermann of the enemy's approach. Dumouriez had not been unobservant of the danger of his comrade, thus isolated and involved, and he had ordered up

The plateau of Valmy.

troops to support Kellermann on either flank in the event of his being attacked. These troops, however, moved forward slowly; and Kellermann's army, ranged on the plateau of Valmy, "projected like a cape into the midst of the lines of Prussian bayonets." A thick autumnal mist floated in waves of vapor over the plains and ravines that lay between the two armies, leaving only the crests and peaks of the hills glittering in the early light. About ten o'clock the fog began to clear off, and then the French from their promontory saw emerging from the white wreaths of mist, and glittering in the sunshine, the countless Prussian cavalry, which were to envelop them as in a net if once driven from their position, the solid columns of the infantry, that moved forward as if animated by a single will, the bristling batteries of the artillery, and the glancing clouds of the Austrian light troops, fresh from their contests with the Spahis of the East.

Position of the French army.

Contrary to the expectation of both friends and foes, the French infantry held their ground steadily under the fire of the Prussian guns, which thundered on them from La Lune, and their own artillery replied with equal spirit and greater effect on the denser masses of the allied army. Thinking that the Prussians were slackening in their fire, Kellermann formed a column in charging order, and dashed down into the valley in the hope

The French charge.

of capturing some of the nearest guns of the enemy. A masked battery opened its fire on the French column, and drove it back in disorder, Kellermann having his horse shot under him, and being with difficulty carried off by his men. The Prussian columns now advanced in turn. The French artillerymen now began to waver and desert their posts, but were rallied by the efforts and example of their officers, and Kellermann, reorganizing the line of his infantry, took his station in the ranks on foot, and called out to his men to let the enemy come close up, and then to charge them with the bayonet. The troops caught the enthusiasm of their general, and a cheerful shout of "Vive la nation!" taken up by one battalion from another pealed across the valley to the assailants. The Prussians hesitated at a charge uphill against a force that seemed so resolute and formidable; they halted for a while in the hollow, and then slowly retreated up their own side of the valley.

Retreat of the Prussians.

Indignant at being thus repulsed by such a foe, the King of Prussia formed the flower of his men in person, and, riding along the column, bitterly reproached them with letting their standard be thus humiliated. Then he led them on again to the attack, marching in the front line, and seeing his staff mowed down around him by the deadly fire which the French artillery reopened. But the troops sent by Dumouriez were now co-operating ef-

fectually with Kellermann, and that general's own men, flushed by success, presented a firmer front than ever. Again the Prussians retreated, leaving eight hundred dead behind, and at nightfall the French remained victors on the heights of Valmy.

Victorious France.

All hopes of crushing the Revolutionary armies, and of the promenade to Paris, had now vanished, though Brunswick lingered long in the Argonne, till distress and sickness wasted away his once splendid force, and finally but a mere wreck of it recrossed the frontier. France, meanwhile, felt that she possessed a giant's strength, and like a giant did she use it. Before the close of that year all Belgium obeyed the National Convention at Paris, and the kings of Europe, after the lapse of eighteen centuries, trembled once more before a conquering military republic.

THE REIGN OF TERROR

(A.D. 1793—1794)

HIPPOLYTE ADOLPHE TAINE

LET us trace the progress of the homicidal idea in the mass of the party. It lies at the very bottom of the revolutionary creed. Collot d'Herbois, two months after this, aptly says in the Jacobin tribune: "The second of September is the great article in the *credo* of our freedom." It is peculiar to the Jacobin to consider himself as a legitimate sovereign, and to treat his adversaries not as belligerents, but as criminals. They are guilty of *lèse nation;* they are outlaws, fit to be killed at all times and places, and deserve extinction, even when no longer able or in a condition to do any harm. Consequently, on the 10th of August the Swiss Guards, who do not fire a gun and who surrender, the wounded lying on the ground, their surgeons, the palace domestics, are killed; and, worse still, persons like M. de Clermone-Tonnerre who pass quietly along the street. All this now called, in official phraseology, the justice of the people.—On the 11th, the Swiss Guards, collected in

The homicidal mania.

The Swiss Guards.

the *Feuillants* building, came near being massacred; the populace on the outside of it demand their heads; "it conceives the project of visiting all the prisons in Paris to take out the prisoners and administer prompt justice on them."—On the 12th, in the markets, "divers groups of the low class call Pétion a scoundrel," because "he saved the Swiss in the Palais Bourbon"; accordingly, "he and the Swiss must be hung to-day."—In these minds turned topsy-turvy, the actual, palpable truth gives way to its opposite; "the attack was not begun by them; the order to sound the tocsin came from the palace; it is the palace which was besieging the nation, and not the nation which was besieging the palace." The vanquished "are the assassins of the people," caught in the act; and on the 14th of August the Federates demand a court-martial "to avenge the death of their comrades." And even a court-martial will not answer: "It is not sufficient to mete out punishment for crimes committed on the 10th of August, but the vengeance of the people must be extended to all conspirators;" to that "Lafayette, who probably was not in Paris, *but who may have been there;*" to all the ministers, generals, judges, and other officials guilty of maintaining legal order wherever it has been maintained, and of not having recognized the Jacobin government before it came into being. Let them be brought before, not the ordinary

The "assassins of the people."

courts, which are not to be trusted because they belong to the defunct régime, but before a specially organized tribunal, a sort of *"chambre ardente,"* elected by the sections, that is to say, by a Jacobin minority. These improvised judges must give judgment on conviction, without appeal; there must be no preliminary examinations, no intervals of time between arrest and execution, no dilatory and protective formalities. And above all, the Assembly must be expeditious in passing the decree; "otherwise," it is informed by a delegate from the Commune, "the tocsin will be rung at midnight and the general alarm sounded; for the people are tired of waiting to be avenged. Look out lest they do themselves justice!"—A moment more, new threats, and at a shorter date. "If the juries are not ready to act in two or three hours . . . great misfortunes will overtake Paris."

The new tribunal.

In vain the new tribunal, instantly installed, hastens its work and guillotines three innocent persons in five days; it does not move fast enough. On the 23d of August one of the sections declares to the Commune in furious language that the people themselves, "wearied and indignant" with so many delays, mean to force open the prisons and massacre the inmates.—Not only do they harass the judges, but they force the accused into their presence. A deputation from the Commune and the Federates summons the Assembly "to transfer the

criminals at Orleans to Paris, to undergo the penalty of their heinous crimes," "otherwise," says the orator, "we will not answer for the vengeance of the people."

Fear is evidently an adjunct of hatred. The Jacobin rabble is vaguely conscious of its inferior numbers, of its usurpation, of its danger, which increases in proportion as Brunswick draws near. It feels itself encamped over a mine, and if the mine should explode!— Since its adversaries are scoundrels they are capable of a sudden blow, of a plot, of a massacre; never itself having done anything else, it conceives no other idea; and, through an inevitable transposition of thought, it imputes to them the murderous intentions obscurely wrought out in the dark recesses of its own disturbed brain. The Jacobin rabble.

Up to this time, in slaughtering or having it done, it was always as insurrectionists in the street; now, it is in places of imprisonment, as magistrates and functionaries, according to the registers of a lock-up, after proofs of identity and on snap judgments, by paid executioners, in the name of public security, methodically, and in cool blood, almost with the same regularity as subsequently under "the revolutionary government." September, indeed, is the beginning of it, the abridgment of it and the type; they will not do otherwise or better in the best days of the guillotine. Only, as they are as yet poorly supplied with tools, they Murder under legal forms.

are obliged to use pikes instead of the guillotine, and, as diffidence is not yet entirely gone, the chiefs conceal themselves behind manœuvrings. Nevertheless, we can track them, take them in the act, and we possess their autographs; they planned, commanded, and conducted the operation. On the 30th of August, the Commune decided that the sections should try accused persons, and, on the 2d of September, five trusty sections reply to it by resolving that the accused shall be murdered. The same day, September 2, Marat takes his place on the Committee of Supervision. The same day, September 2, Panis and Sergent sign the commissions of "their comrades," Maillard and associates, for the Abbaye, and "order them to judge," that is to say, kill the prisoners. The same and the following days, at La Force, three members of the Commune, Hébert, Monneuse, and Rossignol, preside in turn over the assassin court. The same day, a commissary of the Committee of Supervision comes and demands a dozen men of the Sans-Culottes section to help massacre the priests of Saint Firmin. The same day, a commissary of the Commune visits the different prisons during the slaughterings, and finds that "things are going on well in all of them." The same day, at five o'clock in the afternoon, Billaud-Varennes, deputy-attorney for the Commune, "in his well-known puce-colored coat and black perruque," walking over the

The September massacres.

Billaud-Varennes.

corpses, says to the Abbaye butchers: "Fellow-citizens, you are immolating your enemies, you are performing your duty!" That night he returns, highly commends them, and ratifies his promise of the wages "agreed upon"; on the following day, at noon, he again returns, congratulates them more warmly, allows each one twenty francs, and urges them to keep on.—In the meantime, Santerre, summoned to the staff-office by Roland, hypocritically deplores his voluntary inability, and persists in not giving the orders, without which the National Guard can not stir a step. At the sections, the presidents, Chénier, Ceyrat, Boula, Momoro, Collot d'Herbois, send away or fetch their victims under pikes. At the Commune, the council-general votes 12,000 francs, to be taken from the dead, to defray the expenses of the operation. In the Committee of Supervision, Marat sends off despatches to spread murder through the departments.—It is evident that the leaders and their subordinates are unanimous, each at his post and in the service he performs; through the spontaneous co-operation of the whole party, the command from above meets the impulse from below; both unite in a common murderous disposition, the work being done with the more precision in proportion to its being easily done.—Jailers have received orders to open the prison doors, and give themselves no concern. Through an excess of precaution,

Paid assassins.

Jailer's orders.

the knives and forks of the prisoners have been taken away from them. One by one, on their names being called, they will march out like oxen in a slaughter-house, while about twenty butchers to each prison, from two to three hundred in all, will suffice to do the work.

But, in their own eyes, they are so many kings; "sovereignty is committed to their hands," their powers are unlimited; whoever doubts this is a traitor, and is properly punished; he must be put out of the way; while, for royal councillors, they take maniacs and knaves, who, through monomania or calculation, preach that doctrine, just the same as a negro king surrounded by white slave dealers, who urge him into raids, and by black sorcerers, who prompt him to massacre. How could such a man with such guides, and in such an office, be retarded by the formalities of justice, or by the distinctions of equity? Equity and justice are the elaborate products of civilization, while he is merely a political savage. In vain are the innocent recommended to his mercy! "Look here, citizen, do you, too, want to set us to sleep? Suppose that those cursed Prussian and Austrian beggars were in Paris, would they pick out the guilty? Wouldn't they strike right and left, the same as the Swiss did on the 10th of August? Very well, I can't make speeches, but I don't set anybody to sleep. I say, I am the father of a family—I have a wife and five

Political savagery.

children that I mean to leave here for the section to look after, while I go and fight the enemy. But I have no idea that while I am gone these villains here in prison and other villains, who would come and let them out, should cut the throats of my wife and children. I have three boys who I hope will some day be more useful to their country than those rascals you want to save. Anyhow, all that can be done is to let 'em out and give them arms, and we will fight 'em on an equal footing. Whether I die here or on the frontiers, scoundrels would kill me all the same, and I will sell my life dearly. But, whether it is done by me or by some one else, the prison shall be cleaned out of those cursed beggars, there, now!" At this a general cry is heard: "He's right! No mercy! Let us go in!" All that the crowd assent to is an improvised tribunal, the reading of the jailer's register, and prompt judgment; condemnation and slaughter must follow, according to the famous Commune, which simplifies things.—There is another simplification still more formidable, which is the condemnation and slaughter by categories. Any title suffices, Swiss, priest, officer, or servant of the King, "the moths of the civil list"; wherever a lot of priests or Swiss are found, it is not worth while to have a trial, as they can be killed in a heap.—Reduced to this, the operation is adapted to the operators; the arms of the new sovereign are

No mercy.

as strong as his mind is weak, and, through an inevitable adaptation, he degrades his work to the level of his faculties.

Degradation of the agent.

His work, in its turn, degrades and perverts him. No man, and especially a man of the people, rendered pacific by an old civilization, can, with impunity, become at one stroke both sovereign and executioner. In vain does he work himself up against the condemned and heap insult on them to augment his fury; he is dimly conscious of committing a great crime, and his soul, like that of Macbeth, "is full of scorpions." Through a terrible self-shrinking, he hardens himself against the inborn, hereditary impulses of humanity; these resist while he becomes exasperated, and, to stifle them, there is no other way but to "sup on horrors," by adding murder to murder. For murder, especially as he practices it, that is to say, with a naked sword on defenceless people, introduces into his animal and moral machine two extraordinary and disproportionate emotions which unsettle it: on the one hand, a sensation of omnipotence exercised uncontrolled, unimpeded, without danger, on human life, on throbbing flesh, and, on the other hand, an interest in bloody and diversified death, accompanied with an ever new series of contortions and exclamations. Formerly, in the Roman circus, one could not tear one's self away from it—the spectacle once seen, the spectator always returned to see it again. Just

The prison court a Roman circus.

at this time each prison court is a circus, and what makes it worse is that the spectators are likewise actors.—Thus, for them, two fiery liquids mingle together in one draught. To moral intoxication is added physical intoxication, wine in profusion, bumpers at every pause, revelry over corpses; and we see rising out of this unnatural creature the demon of Dante, at once brutal and refined, not merely a destroyer, but, again, an executioner, contriver and calculator of suffering, and radiant and joyous over the evil it accomplishes.

Moral and physical intoxication

They are joyous. They dance around each new corpse, and sing the *carmagnole;* they arouse the people of the quarter "to amuse them," and that they may have their share of "the fine fête," benches are arranged for "gentlemen," and others for "ladies": the latter, with greater curiosity, are additionally anxious to contemplate at their ease "the aristocrats" already slain; consequently, lights are required, and one is placed on the breast of each corpse.

Meanwhile, slaughter continues, and is carried to perfection. A butcher at the Abbaye complains that "the aristocrats die too quick, and that those only who strike first have the pleasure of it;" henceforth they are to be struck with the backs of the swords only, and made to run between two rows of their butchers, like soldiers formerly running a gantlet. If there happens to be a person well known,

The lust of blood.

it is agreed to take more care in prolonging the torment. At La Force, the Federates who come for M. de Rulhières swear "with frightful imprecations that they will cut off the first man's head who gives him a thrust with a pike;" the first thing is to strip him naked, and then, for half an hour, with the flat of their sabres, they cut and slash him until he drips with blood and is "skinned to his entrails."—All the unfettered instincts that live in the lowest depths of the heart start from the human abyss at once, not alone the heinous instincts with their fangs, but likewise the foulest with their slaver, but becoming more furious against women whose noble or infamous repute makes them conspicuous; on Madame de Lamballe, the Queen's friend; on Madame Desrues, widow of the famous poisoner; the flower-girl of the Palais Royal, who, two years before, had mutilated her lover, a French guardsman, in a fit of jealousy.

Delight in torture.

They kill and they drink, and drink and kill again. Weariness comes and stupor begins. One of them, a wheelwright's apprentice, has despatched sixteen for his share; another "has labored so hard at this merchandise as to leave the blade of his sabre sticking in it"; "I was more tired," says a Federate, "with two hours pulling limbs to pieces, right and left, than any mason any two days plastering a wall." The first excitement is gone, and now they strike automatically. Some of them fall

Orgies of wine and blood.

asleep stretched out on benches. Others, huddled together, sleep off the fumes of their wine, removed on one side. The exhalation from the carnage is so strong that the president of the civil committee faints in his chair, while the odor of the drinking-bout is equal to that of the charnel-house. A heavy, dull state of torpor gradually overcomes their clouded brains, the last glimmerings of reason dying out one by one, like the smoky lights on the already cold breasts of the corpses lying around them. Through the stupor spreading over the faces of butchers and cannibals, we see appearing that of the idiot. It is the revolutionary idiot, in which all conceptions, save two, have vanished, two fixed, rudimentary, and mechanical ideas, one destruction and the other that of public safety. With no others in his empty head, these blend together through an irresistible attraction, and the effect proceeding from their contact may be imagined. "Is there anything else to do?" asks one of these butchers in the deserted court. "If that is all," reply a couple of women at the gate, *"you must start something more,"* and, naturally, this is done.

Arrival of the idiot.

As the prisons are to be cleaned out, it is as well to clean them all out, and do it at once. After the Swiss, priests, the aristocrats, and the "white-skin gentlemen," there remain convicts and those confined through the ordinary channels of justice, robbers, assassins, and those

Cleaning out the prisons.

sentenced to the galleys in the Conciergerie, in the Châtelet, and in the Tour St. Bernard with branded women, vagabonds, old beggars, and boys confined in Bicêtre and the Salpétrière. They are good for nothing, cost something to feed, and, probably, cherish evil designs. At the Salpétrière, for example, the wife of Desrues, the poisoner, is, assuredly, like himself, "cunning, wicked, and capable of anything;" she must be furious at being in prison; if she could, she would set fire to Paris; she must have said so; she did say it—one more sweep of the broom.—This time, as the job is more foul, the broom is wielded by fouler hands; among those who seize the handle are the frequenters of jails. The butchers at the Abbaye, especially toward the close, had already committed thefts; here, at the Châtelet and the Conciergerie, they carry away "everything that seems to them suitable," even to the clothes of the dead, prison sheets and coverlids, even the small savings of the jailers, and, besides this, they enlist their cronies in the service. "Out of thirty-six prisoners set free, many were assassins and robbers, associated with them by the butchers. There were also seventy-five women, confined, in part, for larceny, who promised to faithfully serve their liberators." Later on, indeed, these are to become, at the Jacobin and Cordeliers clubs, the *tricoteuses* who fill their tribunes.—At the Salpétrière, "all the bullies of Paris, former

Madame Desrues.

Robbing the dead.

spies, . . . libertines, the rascals of France and all Europe, prepare beforehand for the operation," and rape alternates with massacre. —Thus far, at least, slaughter has been seasoned with robbery, and the grossness of eating and drinking; at Bicêtre, however, it is crude butchery, the carnivorous instinct alone satisfying itself. Among other prisoners are forty-three youths of the lowest class, from seventeen to nineteen years of age, placed there for correction by their parents, or by those to whom they are bound; one need only look at them to see that they are genuine Parisian scamps, the apprentices of vice and misery, the future recruits for the reigning band, and these the band falls on, beating them to death with clubs. At this age life is tenacious, and, no life being harder to take, it requires extra efforts to despatch them. "In that corner," said a jailer, "they made a mountain of their bodies."

Crude butchery.

There are six days and five nights of uninterrupted butchery, 171 murders at the Abbaye, 169 at La Force, 223 at the Châtelet, 328 at the Conciergerie, 73 at the Tour-Saint-Bernard, 120 at the Carmelites, 79 at Saint Firmin, 170 at Bicêtre, 35 at the Salpétrière; among the dead, 250 priests, 3 bishops or archbishops, general officers, magistrates, one former minister, one royal princess, belonging to the best names in France; and, on the other side, one negro, several low-class women,

Number of the victims.

young scapegraces, convicts, and poor old men. What man now, little or big, does not feel himself under the knife?—And all the more because the band has grown larger. Fournier, Lazowski, and Bécard, the chiefs of robbers and assassins, return from Orleans with fifteen hundred cutthroats. On the way they kill M. de Brissac, M. de Lessert, and forty-two others accused of *lèse-nation,* whom they wrested from their judges' hands, and then, by way of surplus, "following the example of Paris," twenty-one prisoners taken from the Versailles prisons. At Paris, the Minister of Justice thanks them, the Commune congratulates them, and the sections feast them, and embrace them.—Can anybody doubt that they were ready to begin again?

M. de Brissac killed.

[In 1795, the Dauphin dies. England and Austria enter into an alliance and the French are driven across the Rhine. Pichegru conquers Holland; captures the Dutch fleet, and establishes a Batavian Republic. The British evacuate Holland. They capture the Cape of Good Hope.]

Pichegru conquers Holland.

THE DIRECTOIRE

(A.D. 1795—1799)

SIR ARCHIBALD ALISON

MEANWHILE, the Convention proceeded rapidly with the formation of the new Constitution. This was the *third* which had been imposed upon the French people during the space of a few years: a sufficient proof of the danger of incautiously overturning long-established institutions. The Constitution of 1795 was very different from those which had preceded it, and gave striking proof of the altered condition of the public mind on the state of political affairs. Experience had now taught all classes that the chimera of perfect equality could not be attained; that the mass of the people are unfit for the exercise of political rights; that the contests of factions terminate, if the people are victorious, in the supremacy of the most depraved. The constitution which was framed under the influence of these sentiments differed widely from the democratic institutions of 1793. The ruinous error was now acknowledged of uniting the whole legislative powers in one assembly, and enacting the

The Constitution of 1795.

most important laws without the intervention of any time to deliberate on their tendency, or recover from the excitement under which they may have originated. The legislative power, therefore, was divided into two councils, that of the Five Hundred and that of the Ancients. The Council of Five Hundred was intrusted with the sole power of originating laws; that of the Ancients with the power of passing or rejecting them; and to ensure the prudent discharge of this duty, no person could be a member of it till he had reached the age of forty years. No bill could pass till after it had been three times read, with an interval between each reading of at least five days.

The Five Hundred and the Ancients.

The executive power, instead of being vested, as heretofore, in two committees, was lodged in the hands of five directors, nominated by the Council of Five Hundred, approved by that of the Ancients. They were liable to be impeached for their misconduct by the councils. Each individual was, by rotation, to be president during three months; and every year a fifth new director was to be chosen, in lieu of one who was bound to retire. The Directory thus constituted had the entire disposal of the army and finances, the appointment of all public functionaries, and the management of all public negotiations. They were lodged, during the period of their official duty, in the Palace of the Luxembourg, and attended by a guard of honor.

The executive power.

The privilege of electing members for the Legislature was taken away from the great body of the people, and confined to the colleges of delegates. Their meetings were called the Primary Assemblies; and, in order to ensure the influence of the middling ranks, the persons elected by the Primary Assemblies were themselves the electors of the members of the Legislature. All popular societies were interdicted, and the press declared absolutely free.

The Primary Assemblies.

The formation of this Constitution, and its discussion in the assemblies of the people, to which it was submitted for consideration, excited the most violent agitation throughout France. Paris, as usual, took the lead. Its forty-eight sections were incessantly assembled, and the public effervescence resembled that of 1789. This was brought to its height by a decree of the assembly, declaring that two-thirds of the present Convention should form a part of the new Legislature, and that the electors should only fill up the remaining part. The citizens beheld with horror so large a proportion of a body, whose proceedings had deluged France with blood, still destined to reign over them. To accept the Constitution and reject this decree seemed the only way of getting free from their domination. The Thermidorian party had been entirely excluded from the committee of Eleven, to whom the formation of the new Constitution was in-

Great agitation in Paris.

trusted, and, in revenge, they joined the assemblies of those who sought to counteract their ambition. The focus of the effervescence was the section Lepelletier, formerly known by the name of that of the Filles de St. Thomas, the richest and most powerful in Paris, which, through all the changes of the Revolution, had steadily adhered to Royalist principles.

The focus of effervescence.

The Royalist committees of Paris, of which Le Maitre was the known agent, finding matters brought to this crisis, coalesced with the journals and the leaders of the sections. They openly accused the Convention of attempting to perpetuate their power, and of aiming at usurping the sovereignty of the people. The orators of the sections said at the bar of the assembly, "Deserve our choice—do not seek to command it; you have exercised an authority without bounds; you have united in yourselves all the powers, those of making laws, of revising them, of changing them, of executing them. Recollect how fatal military despotism was to the Roman Republic." The press of Paris teemed with pamphlets inveighing against the ambitious views of the Legislature, and the efforts of the sections were incessant to defeat their projects. The agitation of 1789 was renewed, but it was all now on the other side; the object now was, not to restrain the tyranny of the court, but repress the ambition of the delegates of the people.

Agitation of the press.

"Will the Convention," said the Royalist orators, "never be satisfied? Is a reign of three years, fraught with more crimes than the whole annals of twenty other nations, not sufficient for those who rose into power under the auspices of the 10th of August and the 2d of September? Is that power fit to repose under the shadow of the laws which has only lived in tempests? Let us not be deceived by the 9th Thermidor; the Bay of Quiberon, where Tallien bore so conspicuous a part, may show us that the thirst for blood is not extinguished even among those who overthrew Robespierre. The Convention has done nothing but destroy; shall we now intrust it with the work of conservation? What reliance can be placed on the monstrous coalition between the proscribers and the proscribed? Irreconcilable enemies to each other, they have only entered into this semblance of alliance in order to resist those who hate them—that is every man in France. It is we ourselves who have forced upon them those acts of tardy humanity, on which they now rely as a veil to their monstrous proceedings. But for our warm representations, the members *hors de la loi* would still have been wandering in exile, the seventy-three deputies still languishing in prison. Who but ourselves formed the faithful guard who saved them from the terrible faubourgs, to whom they had basely yielded their best members on the 31st of May? They now call upon

The Convention merely destructive.

us to select among its ranks those who should continue members, and form the two-thirds of the new assembly. Can two-thirds of the Convention be found who are not stained with blood? Can we ever forget that many of its basest acts passed *unanimously*, and that a majority of three hundred and sixty-one passed a vote which will be an eternal subject of mourning to France? Shall we admit a majority of regicides into the new assembly, intrust our liberty to cowards, our fortunes to the authors of so many acts of rapine, our lives to murderers? The Convention is only strong because it mixes up its crimes with the glories of our armies; let us separate them; let us leave the Convention its sins, and our soldiers their triumphs, and the world will speedily do justice to both."

A majority of regicides

Such discourses, incessantly repeated from the tribunes of forty-eight sections, violently shook the public mind in the capital. To give greater publicity to their sentiments, the orators repeated the same sentiments in addresses at the bar of the assembly, which were immediately circulated with rapidity through the departments. The effervescence in the south was at its height; many important cities and departments seemed already disposed to imitate the sections of the metropolis. The cities of Dreus and Chartres warmly seconded their wishes, while the sections of Orleans sent the following message: "Primary assemblies of

Extreme agitation in Paris.

Paris, Orleans is at your side, it advances on the same line; let your cry be resistance to oppression, hatred to usurpers, and we will second you."

The National Guard of Paris shared in the general excitation. The troops of the *Jeunesse Dorée* had inspired its members with part of their own exultation of feeling, and diminished much of their wonted timidity. Resistance to the tyrant was openly spoken of; the Convention compared to the Long Parliament, which shed the blood of Charles I.; and the assistance of a Monk ardently looked for to consummate the work of restoration. The *Jeunesse Dorée*.

Surrounded by so many dangers, the Convention did not abate of its former energy. They had lost the Jacobins by their proscriptions, the Royalists by their ambition. What remained? The Army; and this terrible engine they resolved to employ, as the only means of establishing their power. They lost no time in submitting the Constitution to the soldiers, and by them it was unanimously adopted. Military men, accustomed to obey, and to take the lead from others, usually, except in periods of uncommon excitement, adopt any constitution which is recommended to them by their officers. A body of five thousand regular troops were assembled in the neighborhood of Paris, and their adhesion eagerly announced to the citizens. The Convention called to their support the Pretorian Convention turns to the army.

Guards; they little thought how soon they were to receive from them a master.

The Departments accept the Constitution.

It soon appeared that not only the armies but a large majority of the departments had accepted the Constitution. The inhabitants of Paris, however, accustomed to take the lead in all public measures, were not discouraged; the section Lepelletier unanimously passed a resolution, "That the powers of every constituted authority ceased in presence of the assembled people; and a provisional government, under the name of a Central Committee, was established under the auspices of its leaders." A majority of the sections adopted this resolution, which was immediately annulled by the Convention, and their decree was, in its turn, reversed by the assemblies of the electors. The contest now became open between the sections and the Legislature; the former separated the Constitution from the decrees ordaining the re-election of two-thirds of the old assembly; they accepted the former, and rejected the latter.

Meeting of the electors at the Theatre Français.

On the 3d of October (11th Vendemiaire) it was resolved by the sections that the electors chosen by the people should be assembled at the Théâtre Français, under protection of the National Guard; and on the 3d they were conducted there by an armed force of chasseurs and grenadiers. The dangers of an insurrection against a government, having at its command the military force of France, was

apparent; but the enthusiasm of the moment overbalanced all other considerations. On the one side it was urged, "Are we about to consecrate, by our example, that odious principle of insurrections which so many bloody days have rendered odious? Our enemies alone are skilled in revolt; the art of exciting them is unknown to us. The multitude is indifferent to our cause; deprived of their aid, how can we face the government? If they join our ranks, how shall we restrain their sanguinary excesses? Should we prove victorious, what dynasty shall we establish? what chiefs can we present to the armies? Is there not too much reason to fear that success would only revive divisions, now happily forgotten, and give our enemies the means of profiting by our discord?" But to this it was replied, "Honor forbids us to recede; duty calls upon us to restore freedom to our country, his throne to our monarch. We may now, by seizing the decisive moment, accomplish that which former patriots sought in vain to achieve. The 9th Thermidor only destroyed a tyrant; now tyranny itself is to be overthrown. If our names are now obscure, they will no longer remain so; we shall acquire a glory of which even the brave Vendéans shall be envious. Let us dare: that is the watchword in revolutions; may it for once be employed on the side of order and freedom. The Convention will never forgive our outrages; the revolutionary tyr-

Perplexing questions.

anny, curbed for more than a year by our exertions, will rise up with renewed vigor for our destruction, if we do not anticipate its vengeance by delivering ourselves." Moved by these considerations, the sections unanimously resolved upon resistance.

Resistance resolved upon.

The National Guard amounted to above thirty thousand men, but it was totally destitute of artillery; the sections having, in the belief that they were no further required, delivered up the pieces with which they had been furnished in 1789, upon the final disarming of the insurgent faubourgs. Their want was now severely felt, as the Convention had fifty pieces at their command, whose terrible efficacy had been abundantly proved on the 10th of August; and the cannoneers who were to serve them were the same who had broken the lines of Prince Cobourg. The National Guard hoped, by a rapid advance, to capture this formidable train of artillery, and then the victory was secure.

The leaders of the Convention, on their side, were not idle. In the evening of the 3d of October (11th Vendemiaire) a decree was passed, ordering the immediate dissolution of the electoral bodies in Paris, and embodying into a regiment fifteen hundred of the Jacobins, many of whom were liberated from the prisons for that especial purpose. These measures brought matters to a crisis between the sections and the government. This de-

Measures of the Convention

cree was openly resisted, and the National Guard having assembled in force to protect the electors at the Théâtre Français, the Convention ordered the military to dispossess them. General Menou was appointed commander of the armed force, and he advanced with the troops of the line to surround the Convent des Filles de St. Thomas, the centre of the insurrection, where the section Lepelletier was assembled.

Menou's weakness.

Menou, however, had not the decision requisite for success in civil contests. Instead of attacking the insurgents, he entered into a negotiation with them, and retired in the evening without having effected anything. His failure gave all the advantages of a victory to the sections, and the National Guard mustered in greater strength than ever, and resolved to attack the Convention at its place of assembly on the following day. Informed of this failure, and the dangerous fermentation which it had produced at Paris, the Convention, at eleven at night, dismissed General Menou, and gave the command of the armed force, with unlimited powers, to General Barras. He immediately demanded the assistance, as second in command, of a young officer of artillery who had distinguished himself at the siege of Toulon and the war in the Maritime Alps, Napoleon Bonaparte.

Napoleon's opportunities.

This young officer was immediately introduced to the committee. His manner was

timid and embarrassed; the career of public life was as yet new, but his clear and distinct opinions, the energy and force of his language, already indicated the powers of his mind. By his advice, the powerful train of artillery in the plains of Sablons, consisting of fifty pieces, was immediately brought by a lieutenant, afterward well known in military annals, named Murat, to the capital, and disposed in such a position as to command all the avenues to the Convention. Early on the following morning, the neighborhood of the Tuileries resembled a great intrenched camp. The line of defence extended from the Pont Neuf along the quays of the river to the Pont Louis XV.; the Place de Carrousel and the Louvre were filled with cannon, and the entrances of all the streets which open into the Rue St. Honoré were strongly guarded. In this position the commanders of the Convention awaited the attack of the insurgents. Napoleon was indefatigable in his exertions to inspire the troops with confidence: he visited every post, inspected every battery, and spoke to the men with that decision and confidence which is so often the prelude to victory.

He commands the avenues with artillery.

The action was soon commenced; above thirty thousand men, under Generals Danican and Duhoux, surrounded the little army of six thousand, who, with this powerful artillery, defended the seat of the Legislature. The firing began in the Rue St. Honoré at half-past

four; the grenadiers placed on the Church of St. Roche opened a fire of musketry on the cannoneers of the Convention, who replied by a discharge of grapeshot, which swept destruction through the serried ranks of the National Guard which occupied the Rue St. Honoré. Though the insurgents fought with the most determined bravery, and the fire from the Church of St. Roche was well sustained, nothing could resist the murderous grapeshot of the regular soldiers. Many of the cannoneers fell at their guns, but the fire of their pieces was not diminished. In a few minutes the Rue St. Honoré was deserted, and the flying columns carried confusion into the ranks of the reserve, who were formed near the Church of the Filles de St. Thomas. General Danican galloped off at the first discharge, and never appeared again during the day. Meanwhile, the Pont Neuf was carried by the insurgents, and a new column, ten thousand strong, advanced along the opposite quay to the Tuileries to attack the Pont Royal; Napoleon allowed them to advance within twenty yards of his batteries, and then opened his fire; the insurgents stood three discharges without flinching; but not having resolution enough to rush upon the cannon, they were ultimately driven back in disorder, and by seven o'clock the victory of the Convention was complete at all points. At nine, the troops of the line carried the posts of the National Guard in the

Attack of the Legislature.

The insurgents carry Pont Neuf.

Palais Royal, and on the following morning the section Lepelletier was disarmed, and the insurgents everywhere submitted.

Such was the result of the last insurrection of the people in the French Revolution; all the subsequent changes were effected by the Government or the armies without their interference. The insurgents were not the rabble or the assassins who had so long stained its history with blood; they were the flower of the citizens of Paris; comprising all that the Revolution had left that was generous, or elevated, or noble, in the capital. They were overthrown, not by the superior numbers or courage of their adversaries, but by the terrible effect of their artillery, by the power of military discipline, and the genius of that youthful conqueror before whom all the armies of Europe were destined to fall. The moral strength of the nation was all on their side; but in revolutions, it is seldom that moral strength proves ultimately victorious; and the examples of Cæsar and Cromwell are not required to show that the natural termination of civil strife is military despotism.

Total defeat of the insurgents.

The Convention made a generous use of their victory. The Girondists, who exercised an almost unlimited sway over the members, put in practice those maxims of clemency which they had so often recommended to others; the officers who had gained the victory felt a strong repugnance to their laurels being

Establishment of military despotism.

stained with the blood of their fellow-citizens. Few executions followed this decisive victory: M. Lafont, one of the military chiefs of the revolt, obstinately resisting the means of evasion which were suggested to him by the court, was alone condemned, and died with a firmness worthy of the cause for which he suffered. Most of the accused persons were allowed time to escape, and sentence of outlawry merely recorded against them; many returned shortly after to Paris, and resumed their place in public affairs. The clemency of Napoleon was early conspicuous: his counsels, after the victory, were all on the side of mercy, and his intercession saved General Menou from a military commission.

Generosity of the Convention.

Napoleon's clemency.

In the formation of the councils of the Five Hundred and of the Ancients, the Convention made no attempt to constrain the public wishes. The third of the Legislature who had been newly elected were almost all on the side of the insurgents, and even contained several Royalists; and a proposal was, in consequence, made by Tallien that the election of that third should be annulled, and another appeal made to the people. Thibaudeau, with equal firmness and eloquence, resisted the proposal, which was rejected by the Assembly. They merely took the precaution, to prevent a return to royalty, to name for the directors five persons who had voted for the death of the King—Lareveillere, Rewbell, Letourneur,

Barras, and Carnot. Having thus settled the new government, they published a general amnesty, changed the name of the Place de la Revolution into that of Place de la Concorde, and declared their sittings terminated. The last days of an assembly stained with so much blood were gilded by an act of clemency of which Thibaudeau justly said the annals of kings furnished few examples.

General amnesty.

[In 1796, the United Irishmen induce the Directoire to send an expedition to Ireland to establish a Republic. A storm ruins the expedition. Hoche pacifies Brittany and La Vendée. France invades Germany and retreats. Bonaparte successfully invades Italy. Spain enters into an alliance with the Directoire and declares war against Great Britain. The allies make a treaty to partition Portugal, which calls upon England for aid. Britain sends troops and prevents the invasion. Great Britain captures St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Grenada, and Ceylon. In 1797, Jervis defeats the Spanish fleet off Cape St. Vincent. A mutiny breaks out in the British fleets at Spithead, the Nore and the Texel, that is suppressed. Duncan defeats the Dutch off Camperdown.]

Hoche pacifies La Vendée.

THE DECLINE AND FALL OF VENICE

(A.D. 1797)

J. C. L. DE SISMONDI

WE have now to speak only of the decline and fall of the Republic of Venice, the state in Italy whose existence was of longest duration. As this Republic was the most powerful, the most wealthy, and the most wisely administered of all the Italian States, it appeared, even after the year 1530, when all Italy fell under the yoke of Charles V., to have preserved some vigor and independence. But the signoria of Venice did not share in the illusion which it created abroad: it felt the nation's weakness and danger, and knew too well that the vital principle was gone.

Greatness of Venice.

The whole of the Sixteenth Century was employed by the Venetians in repairing the disasters of the League of Cambray. They had to rebuild all the walls of their city; to recover their reduced population; to re-establish their manufactures and agriculture, and to liquidate the enormous debt with which they were loaded; besides being always menaced by the

Venice's work in the Sixteenth century.

Turks, against whom they had to support two disastrous wars; one from 1537 to 1540, which cost them their islands in the Archipelago, and their last fortresses in the Morea; the other from 1570 to 1573, which deprived them of the Isle of Cyprus. They appeared in some degree sacred to the western people, who regarded them as their defenders against the infidels; they were, moreover, united by an identity of interests to the Roman Empire,—like them, menaced by the Mussulmans: they, consequently, drew closer their alliance with the House of Austria, and under that pretext withdrew themselves from every other participation in the general affairs of Europe.

Policy of the Venetian Republic.

But in the beginning of the Seventeenth Century the Mussulman empire no longer inspired so much terror. The yoke of Spain continued to grow more insupportable to Italy; while the development of the Protestant party in Europe showed some prospect of throwing it off. The policy of the Venetian Republic was, in fact, constantly to throw off the yoke of the House of Austria. But knowing its own weakness, and justly suspicious of allies who would abandon after compromising them, the Venetians contented themselves with giving succor to those whom they considered the defenders of European liberty, without openly making themselves a party in their leagues.

Venice was the first to acknowledge Henry

IV., rejected by the Catholic powers, and to negotiate his reconciliation with the Pope. In 1617, it made alliance with the Dutch. During the Thirty Years' War, it gave succor to the Protestants of Germany, to Bethlehem Gabor, and to Ragotski, in Hungary. It supported the Duke of Savoy against the King of Spain, and the Protestant Grisons against the Catholics of that canton. Alliances and aids.

At this period, when the Republic was come almost to open hostility with the court of Spain, Philip III. was represented in Italy by three powerful noblemen, ambitious, intriguing, and faithless—Don Pedro de Toledo, Governor of Milan; the Duke d'Ossuna, Viceroy of Naples; and the Marquis de Bedmar, Ambassador at Venice. In 1618, a project was formed between these three lords to destroy a Republic which stood in the way of their ambition, and which had always thwarted the enterprises of Spain. Some French adventurers, who had signalized themselves in the armies and fleets of the Republic, of whom the most illustrious were the corsair Jaques Pierre and Jaffier, dissatisfied with the rewards which they had obtained, offered their services to the Marquis de Bedmar. The Marquis encouraged them to enlist in their service the assassins, bravos, and robbers who, under the Spanish rule, always formed a part of the household of men of quality. It was agreed that, at a given signal, they should Conspiracy against the Republic.

massacre the Doge, Senators, and nobles; that the city should afterward be abandoned to their pillage; and that a general fire should veil their crimes. On the other side, it appears that Jaques Pierre gave early notice of this plot to the Senate; that he carried it on by its order; that the Senate made use of it to hide its secret intelligence with the Duke d'Ossuna, with whom a project was entered into of nearly the same nature with that which had been proposed in the preceding century by Morone to Pescara. It was intended, with the aid of the Senate, to re-establish the independence of all Italy, by driving the Spaniards out of Lombardy, and giving Ossuna the crown of Naples. Fresh disclosures of Antoine Jaffier apparently discovered to the Council of Ten that the conspirators preferred the pillage of Venice to the doubtful chances of a revolt at Naples; and that the information which they had given of their plot was destined only to deceive the vigilance of the State inquisitors. The Republic, however, had embarked itself in intrigues which could not bear the light. On a certain morning, the inhabitants of Venice saw with horror the bodies of Jaques Pierre, Regnault, Boulant, and several others, hanging in the square of St. Mark. One hundred and sixty others were, it was affirmed, drowned in the Grand Canal; among them was Jaffier. No motive was assigned for these executions; no explana-

Jaques Pierre and Antoine Jaffier.

tion was given to the public; no recrimination was addressed to the court of Spain. The Council of Ten desired, above all, the silence of terror; and the romantic history of this conspiracy, published by St. Réal, in 1674, and the tragedy of "Venice Preserved," by Otway, in 1682, were the only public documents of this catastrophe for a long time. The silence of terror.

The Venetians were afterward forced by the attacks of the Turks to make advances to the House of Austria, the enemy of their enemies. On the 23d of June, 1645, the Sultan Ibrahim unexpectedly attacked the Isle of Candia. The war which thus began was the longest and most ruinous that the Republic had yet sustained against the Ottoman Empire: it lasted twenty-five years. The Venetians displayed obstinate valor in defence of Candia. Courageous adventurers arrived from every part of the west to fight under their banner, as in a holy war. Their fleet twice destroyed that of the Mussulmans; but the forces of the Republic were too disproportioned to those of the Turkish Empire. Candia was forced to surrender on the 6th of September, 1669; and the Senate of that colony, the reflected image of the Republic, returned into the Grand Council of Venice, which had given it birth: peace followed this capitulation. Wars with the Turks. Loss of Candia.

A second war between the Venetians and the Porte was, before the end of the century,

crowned with more success. The Republic engaged in it, in 1682, in concert with the Emperor Leopold and John Sobieski, King of Poland. It conquered the Morea, Egina, Santa Maura, and several fortresses in Dalmatia, which were secured to it by the treaty of Carlowitz, signed on the 26th of January, 1699; but the Turks could not suffer so feeble an enemy to take from them one of their finest provinces. They might soon visibly convince themselves that the Venetians were no longer in a state to make a last effort to protect their conquest: the supreme power was concentrated in an oligarchy becoming daily more distracted. Half the nobility admitted to the Grand Council were reduced to the most extreme poverty. They lived on the bounty of the great, to whom they sold their suffrages. The families from among whom alone was selected the Council of Ten made every other tremble and obey. They regarded the State as a prey to be divided among themselves. Justice was venal; the finances dilapidated; the fortifications falling into ruin; the effective force of the army did not amount to one-half of what appeared on the roll: everything was to the Venetian noble an object of embezzlement and robbery. The oppression of the distant provinces was so great that the eastern Christian subjects of the Republic regretted the dominion of the Ottomans. The Sultan, Achmet III., informed of this universal dis-

The Republic conquers the Morea.

Tyranny of the Council of Ten.

organization, sent his army, on the 20th of June, 1714, into the Morea; and in a month conquered that peninsula, covered with fortresses, of which not one made any resistance. On the 27th of June, 1718, the Republic abandoned, under the peace of Passarowitz, all its claims on the Morea. From that period it had no further war with the Turks. Triumph of the Turks.

The Republic abstained, with the same timidity, from taking any part in the war of the succession, either in Spain or Austria, in the quadruple alliance, or in that of the election of Poland, which disturbed Italy during the first half of the Eighteenth Century. It could not even make its neutrality respected. Its territory, always open to every belligerent power, was often the theatre of their most obstinate warfare. Venice, with 3,000,000 of subjects, 14,000 troops of the line (of which one-half was composed of excellent Sclavonian soldiers), twelve vessels of war, and the means of arming 50,000 men, was incapable of making herself respected, or of protecting her subjects, either by sea or land. Her debt, even in the bosom of peace, was always increasing; her manufactures always in decay; her territory was infested with robbers; every city was divided into factions, which the Senate encouraged, in order to weaken its subjects. A suspicious and cruel government, which maintained itself only by the vigilance of spies, which had promoted immorality to enervate Weakness and decay.

the people, which made the most profound secrecy its only safeguard,—which did not tolerate even a question on public affairs,—which deprived the accused of every protection before the tribunals,—which acknowledged no other limit to the right of punishing by the dagger, by poison, or by the axe of the executioner, than that of the terror of its rulers;—a government such as this became execrated by its subjects. It stained with the most odious tyranny the very name of republic.

The French Revolution.

The French Revolution appeared to the Venetian aristocracy an enemy destined to destroy it: of all the governments which divided Europe, the Venetian was the most opposite in principle to that of the French; nevertheless, the Senate refused to enter into the coalition against France, in 1792. Any display of force would have augmented its expenses, and diminished the spoils of provinces which the patricians divided among themselves. The same parsimony, the same sacrifice of the public to private interests, hindered Venice, when the victories of Bonaparte opened Lombardy to him, in April, 1796, from augmenting her army or provisioning her fortresses, in order to protect her territory from the two belligerent powers. The government, adopting a vacillating policy between the two parties, and awaiting events, laid aside its arms: this soon brought war into the States of the Republic. The Austrians, always the first to

violate neutral ground, traversed them in every direction: Beaulieu occupied Peschiera and Verona; Wurmser threw himself into Bassano, and passed through Vicenza and Padua: Alvinzi and the Archduke Charles occupied Friuli and Palma Nova, up to the eastern limits of the Republic. Napoleon successively drove the Austrians from each of these provinces; but, as the French occupied them, the spirit of reform in the tribunals and the laws, the spirit of publicity and equality, an impatience of every yoke,—the spirit, in short, of the French,—manifested itself, and the Republic was at last made to understand how much it was detested by all those who had the least elevation of soul or cultivation of mind.

Austria overruns Venetia.

General hatred of the Republic

Others, it is true, of the lowest class (day-laborers in towns, and peasants in the country), completely under the influence of priests, comprehending only what exists, fearing all change, and still deeply excited by the name of St. Mark, regarded France and everything French with horror. The Senate, relying on this party, whose fanaticism it excited, and hearing that Napoleon had passed the Piave on his march to Germany, on the 11th of March, 1797, gave orders to arrest at Bergamo fourteen of the principal inhabitants, who had declared themselves the most earnest in favor of the new doctrines. The patriots, warned in time, arrested the proveditor himself, raised the standard of revolt, and proclaimed the lib-

erty of Bergamo: a few days afterward, a similar revolution broke out at Brescia. Bonaparte had just defeated the Archduke Charles at the Tagliamento, and was marching on Vienna. An Austrian column, commanded by Laudon, had meanwhile penetrated by the Tyrol into Italy, which he inundated with proclamations, announcing the defeat and destruction of the French army, and inviting the Italians to take arms to crush its fugitive remains. The Senate, feeling that its position became daily more critical, believed the moment come for throwing off the mask and joining the Austrians. Emili, the proveditor of Verona, after having conferred with Laudon, ordered the tocsin to be rung, on the 17th of April, throughout the whole province; and, joining 30,000 insurgents to 3,000 soldiers, whom he commanded, everywhere attacked the French, massacred all those within his reach, and suffered the infuriated people to murder 400 sick in the hospitals. The next day preliminaries of peace between Austria and the French Republic were signed at Leoben; and, on the 3d of May, 1797, Bonaparte, informed of the insurrection which had been organized in the rear of his army, and of the massacre of his sick, declared war against Venice from Palma Nova. The oligarchy, in consternation, implored the court of Vienna, which had drawn it into this imprudent attack, to include Venice in the suspension of

Invasion and revolt.

Venice attacks the French.

arms and the negotiations for peace; but Austria refused all assistance: she had her own views on her ally, and Venice fell. The French general, Baraguai d'Hilliers, entered the city on the 16th of May, and planted unopposed the tricolor banner on St. Mark. The negotiations for peace, however, continued. Austria, beginning to recover from her panic, disputed the cessions demanded, and asked compensation out of the States of her ally. Hostilities were on the point of recommencing; but France did not yet find herself strong enough to liberate all Italy. On the 17th of October, 1797, Napoleon signed the treaty of Campo Formio, by which he secured the liberty of one-half of the Venetian territory up to the Adige, which was united to the Cisalpine Republic. The Ionian Isles were, at the same time, united to France. Austria, on her side, took possession of Venice and the remainder of the Venetian States. The loss of liberty sustained by that part of the Republic was, however, of no long duration: at the expiration of eighteen months the war was renewed; and, after the French had made themselves masters of Vienna, they obliged Austria to restore Venice and all her territory to the kingdom of Italy, under the treaty of Presburg, signed on the 26th of December, 1805.

Austria refuses aid.

The Treaty of Campo Formio

Venice restored to Italy under the Treaty of Presburg.

[In 1798, a rebellion breaks out in Ireland, which is assisted by a French invasion: it is

suppressed. Napoleon goes to Egypt to create an Eastern Empire, and attacks England in India by the aid of Tippoo Sahib. He captures Malta on the way, and wins the battle of the Pyramids. Turkey declares war on France in consequence. The Pope is deprived of his temporal power by the French and a Roman Republic is proclaimed. France wars on Switzerland and sets up the Helvetic Republic.]

Tippoo Sahib.

THE BATTLE OF THE NILE

(A.D. 1798)

ROBERT SOUTHEY

WHY Bonaparte, having effected his landing, should not have suffered the fleet to return, has never yet been explained. Thus much is certain, that it was detained by his command; though, with his accustomed falsehood, he accused Admiral Brueys, after that officer's death, of having lingered on the coast, contrary to orders. The French fleet arrived at Alexandria on the 1st of July; and Brueys, not being able to enter the port, which time and neglect had ruined, moored his ships in Aboukir Bay, in a strong and compact line of battle; the headmost vessel, according to his own account, being as close as possible to a shoal on the northwest, and the rest of the fleet forming a kind of curve along the line of deep water, so as not to be turned by any means in the southwest. By Bonaparte's desire, he had offered a reward of 10,000 livres to any pilot of the country who would carry the squadron in; but none could be found who would venture to take charge of a single vessel drawing more than

Arrival of the French fleet at Alexandria.

Strength of the position.

twenty feet. He had, therefore, made the best of his situation, and chosen the strongest position which he could possibly take in an open road. The commissary of the fleet said, they were moored in such a manner as to bid defiance to a force more than double their own. This presumption could not then be thought unreasonable. Admiral Barrington, when moored in a similar manner off St. Lucia, in the year 1778, beat off the Comte d'Estaing in three several attacks, though his force was inferior by almost one-third to that which assailed it. Here, the advantage of numbers in ships, guns, and men was in favor of the French. They had thirteen ships of the line and four frigates, carrying 1,196 guns and 11,230 men. The English had the same number of ships of the line, and one fifty-gun ship, carrying 1,012 guns and 8,068 men. The English ships were all seventy-fours; the French had three eighty-gun ships, and one three-decker of 120.

Nelson's conferences.

During the whole pursuit, it had been Nelson's practice, whenever circumstances would permit, to have his captains on board the *Vanguard,* and explain to them his own ideas of the different and best modes of attack, and such plans as he proposed to execute, on falling in with the enemy, whatever their situation might be. There is no possible position, it is said, which he did not take into calculation. His officers were thus fully acquainted with his principles of tactics: and such was

his confidence in their abilities, that the only thing determined upon, in case they should find the French at anchor, was for the ships to form as most convenient for their mutual support, and to anchor by the stern. "First gain the victory," he said, "and then make the best use of it you can." The moment he perceived the position of the French, that intuitive genius with which Nelson was endowed displayed itself; and it instantly struck him, that where there was room for an enemy's ship to swing, there was room for one of ours to anchor. The plan which he intended to pursue, therefore, was to keep entirely on the outer side of the French line, and station his ships, as far as he was able, one on the outer bow, and another on the outer quarter, of each of the enemy's. This plan of doubling on the enemy's ships was projected by Lord Hood, when he designed to attack the French fleet at their anchorage in Gourjean road. Lord Hood found it impossible to make the attempt; but the thought was not lost upon Nelson, who acknowledged himself, on this occasion, indebted for it to his old and excellent commander. Captain Berry, when he comprehended the scope of the design, exclaimed with transport, "If we succeed, what will the world say!"—"There is no *if* in the case," replied the admiral: "that we shall succeed, is certain: who may live to tell the story, is a very different question." His instruction.

As the squadron advanced, they were assailed by a shower of shot and shells from the batteries on the island, and the enemy opened a steady fire from the starboard of their whole line, within half-gunshot distance, full into the bows of our van ships. It was received in silence; the men on board every ship were employed aloft in furling sails, and below in tending the braces, and making ready for anchoring. A miserable sight for the French; who, with all their skill, and all their courage, and all their advantages of numbers and situation, were upon that element on which, when the hour of trial comes, a Frenchman has no hope. Admiral Brueys was a brave and able man; yet the indelible character of his country broke out in one of his letters, wherein he delivered it as his private opinion that the English had missed him, because, not being superior in force, they did not think it prudent to try their strength with him.—The moment was now come in which he was to be undeceived.

The enemy opens fire.

A French brig was instructed to decoy the English, by manœuvring so as to tempt them toward a shoal lying off the island of Bequieres; but Nelson either knew the danger, or suspected some deceit; and the lure was unsuccessful. Captain Foley led the way in the *Goliath,* outsailing the *Zealous,* which for some minutes disputed this post of honor with him. He had long conceived that if the enemy

The decoy brig.

were moored in line of battle in with the land, the best plan of attack would be to lead between them and the shore, because the French guns on that side were not likely to be manned, nor even ready for action. Intending, therefore, to fix himself on the inner bow of the *Guerrier,* he kept as near the edge of the bank as the depth of water would admit; but his anchor hung, and having opened his fore, he drifted to the second ship, the *Conquerant,* before it was clear; then anchored by the stern, inside of her, and in ten minutes shot away her mast. Hood, in the *Zealous,* perceiving this, took the station which the *Goliath* intended to have occupied, and totally disabled the *Guerrier* in twelve minutes. The third ship, which doubled the enemy's van, was the *Orion,* Sir J. Saumarez; she passed to windward of the *Zealous,* and opened her larboard guns as long as they bore on the *Guerrier;* then passing inside the *Goliath,* sunk a frigate which annoyed her, hauled round toward the French line, and, anchoring inside, between the fifth and sixth ships from the *Guerrier,* took her station on the larboard bow of the *Franklin,* and the quarter of the *Peuple Souverain,* receiving and returning the fire of both. The sun was now nearly down. The *Audacious,* Captain Gould, pouring a heavy fire into the *Guerrier* and the *Conquerant,* fixed herself on the larboard bow of the latter; and when that ship struck, passed on to the *Peuple Souverain.*

Success of the *Goliath* and *Zealous*

The *Theseus,* Captain Miller, followed, brought down the *Guerrier's* remaining main and mizzen masts, then anchored inside of the *Spartiate,* the third in the French line.

While these advanced ships doubled the French line, the *Vanguard* was the first that anchored on the outer side of the enemy, within half pistol-shot of their third ship, the *Spartiate.* Nelson had six colors flying in different parts of his rigging, lest they should be shot away;—that they should be struck, no British admiral considers as a possibility. He veered half a cable, and instantly opened a tremendous fire; under cover of which the other four ships of his division, the *Minotaur, Bellerophon, Defence,* and *Majestic,* sailed on ahead of the admiral. In a few minutes, every man stationed at the first six guns in the fore part of the *Vanguard's* deck was killed or wounded—these guns were three times cleared. Captain Louis, in the *Minotaur,* anchored next ahead, and took off the fire of the *Aquilon,* the fourth in the enemy's line. The *Bellerophon,* Captain Darby, passed ahead and dropped her stern anchor on the starboard bow of the *Orient,* seventh in line—Brueys' own ship, of one hundred and twenty guns—whose difference in force was in proportion of more than seven to three, and whose weight of ball, from the lower deck alone, exceeded that from the whole broadside of the *Bellerophon.* Captain Peyton, in the *Defence.* took

Nelson opens fire.

Strength of the *Orient.*

his station ahead of the *Minotaur,* and engaged the *Franklin,* the sixth in the line; by which judicious movement the British line remained unbroken. The *Majestic,* Captain Westcott, got entangled with the main rigging of one of the French ships astern of the *Orient,* and suffered dreadfully from that three-decker's fire; but she swung clear, and closely engaging the *Heureux,* the ninth ship on the starboard bow, received also the fire of the *Tonnant,* which was the eighth in the line. The other four ships of the British squadron, having been detached previous to the discovery of the French, were at a considerable distance when the action began. It commenced at half after six; about seven, night closed, and there was no other light than that from the fire of the contending fleets.

Trowbridge, in the *Culloden,* then foremost of the remaining ships, was two leagues astern. He came on sounding, as the others had done: as he advanced, the increasing darkness increased the difficulty of the navigation; and suddenly, after having found eleven fathoms of water, before the lead could be hove again, he was fast aground: nor could all his own exertions, joined to those of the *Leander* and the *Mutine* brig, which came to his assistance, get him off in time to bear a part in the action. His ship, however, served as a beacon to the *Alexander* and *Swiftsure,* which would else, from the course which they were holding,

The *Culloden* fast aground.

have gone considerably further on the reef, and must inevitably have been lost. These ships entered the bay, and took their stations, in the darkness, in a manner long spoken of with admiration by all who remembered it. Captain Hallowell, in the *Swiftsure,* as he was bearing down, fell in with what seemed to be a strange sail: Nelson had directed his ships to hoist four lights horizontally at the mizzen-peak, as soon as it became dark; and this vessel had no such distinction. Hallowell, however, with great judgment, ordered his men not to fire: if she was an enemy, he said, she was in too disabled a state to escape; but, from her sails being loose, and the way in which her head was, it was probable she might be an English ship. It was the *Bellerophon,* overpowered by the huge *Orient:* her lights had gone overboard, nearly 200 of her crew were killed or wounded, all her masts and cables had been shot away; and she was drifting out of the line, toward the lee side of the bay. Her station, at this important time, was occupied by the *Swiftsure,* which opened a steady fire on the quarter of the *Franklin,* and the bows of the French admiral. At the same instant, Captain Ball, with the *Alexander,* passed under his stern, and anchored within side on his larboard quarter, raking him, and keeping up a severe fire of musketry upon his decks. The last ship which arrived to complete the destruction of the enemy was the *Leander.* Cap-

Plight of the *Bellerophon.*

tain Thompson, finding that nothing could be done that night to get off the *Culloden,* advanced with the intention of anchoring athwart-hawse of the *Orient.* The *Franklin* was so near her ahead, that there was not room for him to pass clear of the two; he, therefore, took his station athwart-hawse of the latter, in such a position as to rake both.

The two first ships of the French line had been dismasted within a quarter of an hour after the commencement of the action; and the others had in that time suffered so severely, that victory was already certain. The third, fourth and fifth were taken possession of at half-past eight.

Victory early assured.

Meantime, Nelson received a severe wound on the head from a piece of langridge shot. When the surgeon came, in due time, to examine his wound (for it was in vain to entreat him to let it be examined sooner), the most anxious silence prevailed; and the joy of the wounded men, and of the whole crew, when they heard that the hurt was merely superficial, gave Nelson deeper pleasure than the unexpected assurance that his life was in no danger. The surgeon requested, and as far as he could, ordered him to remain quiet: but Nelson could not rest. He called for his secretary, Mr. Campbell, to write the despatches. Campbell had himself been wounded; and was so affected at the blind and suffering state of the admiral, that he was unable to write.

Nelson wounded.

The chaplain was then sent for; but, before he came, Nelson, with his characteristic eagerness, took the pen, and contrived to trace a few words, marking his devout sense of the success which had already been obtained. He was now left alone; when suddenly a cry was heard on the deck that the *Orient* was on fire. In the confusion, he found his way up, unassisted and unnoticed; and, to the astonishment of every one, appeared on the quarter-deck, where he immediately gave orders that boats should be sent to the relief of the enemy.

The *Orient* on fire.

It was soon after nine that the fire on board the *Orient* broke out. Brueys was dead: he had received three wounds, yet would not leave his post: a fourth cut him almost in two. He desired not to be carried below, but to be left to die upon deck. The flames soon mastered his ship. Her sides had just been painted; and the oil-jars and paint-buckets were lying on the poop. By the prodigious light of this conflagration, the situation of the two fleets could now be perceived, the colors of both being clearly distinguishable. About ten o'clock the ship blew up, with a shock which was felt to the very bottom of every vessel. Many of her officers and men jumped overboard, some clinging to the spars and pieces of wreck, with which the sea was strewn, others swimming to escape from the destruction which they momentarily dreaded. Some were picked up by our boats; and some, even in the heat and

Death of Admiral Brueys.

The *Orient* blows up.

fury of the action, were dragged into the lower ports of the nearest British vessel by the British sailors. The greater part of her crew, however, stood the danger till the last, and continued to fire from the lower deck. This tremendous explosion was followed by a silence not less awful: the firing immediately ceased on both sides; and the first sound which broke the silence was the dash of her shattered masts and yards falling into the water from the vast height to which they had been exploded. It is upon record, that a battle between two armies was once broken off by an earthquake: such an event would be felt like a miracle; but no incident in war, produced by human means, has ever equalled the sublimity of this co-instantaneous pause, and all its circumstances.

The English save some of the crew.

About seventy of the *Orient's* crew were saved by the English boats. Among the many hundreds who perished were the commodore, Casa-Bianca, and his son, a brave boy, only ten years old. They were seen floating on a shattered mast when the ship blew up. She had money on board (the plunder of Malta) to the amount of 600,000*l.* sterling. The masses of burning wreck, which were scattered by the explosion, excited, for some moments, apprehensions in the English which they had never felt from any other danger. Two large pieces fell into the main and fore tops of the *Swiftsure,* without injuring any person. A port

fire also fell into the main-royal of the *Alexander;* the fire which it occasioned was speedily extinguished. Captain Ball had provided, as far as human foresight could provide, against any such danger. All the shrouds and sails of his ship, not absolutely necessary for its immediate management, were thoroughly wetted, and so rolled up, that they were as hard and as little inflammable as so many solid cylinders.

The firing recommenced with the ships to leeward of the centre, and continued until about three. At daybreak, the *Guillaume Tell,* and the *Généreux,* the *two rear* ships of the enemy, were the only French ships of the line which had their colors flying; they cut their cables in the forenoon, not having been engaged, and stood out to sea, and two frigates with them. The *Zealous* pursued; but as there was no other ship in a condition to support Captain Hood, he was recalled. It was generally believed by the officers, that if Nelson had not been wounded, not one of these ships could have escaped: the four certainly could not, if the *Culloden* had got into action; and if the frigates belonging to the squadron had been present, not one of the enemy's fleet would have left Aboukir Bay. These four vessels, however, were all that escaped; and the victory was the most complete and glorious in the annals of naval history. "Victory," said Nelson, "is not a name strong enough for such a scene;" he called it a con-

The action continues.

The great victory.

quest. Of thirteen sail of the line, nine were taken, and two burnt: of the four frigates, one was sunk, another, the *Artemise,* was burnt in a villanous manner by her captain, M. Estandlet, who, having fired a broadside at the *Theseus,* struck his colors, then set fire to the ship, and escaped with most of his crew to shore. The British loss, in killed and wounded, amounted to 895. Westcott was the only captain who fell: 3,105 of the French, including the wounded, were sent on shore by cartel, and 5,225 perished. The losses.

[In 1799, Great Britain forms a coalition with Austria, Russia, Portugal, Naples, and Turkey, and sends an unsuccessful expedition to Holland. The French suffer many reverses and lose Italy. In Naples, the Society of the Carbonari is formed. Bonaparte is baffled at Acre, and hearing of what is happening in France, hurries home. He overthrows the Directoire and becomes First Consul. The Rosetta Stone, which furnishes the key to the hieroglyphics, is discovered by the French and captured by the English. Humboldt departs on his five years' voyage of discovery in America.] Bonaparte becomes First Consul.

THE SIEGE OF ACRE

(A.D. 1799)

J. R. MILLER

BUONAPARTE, being separated from France, by the total defeat of the French fleet at Aboukir, exerted himself to secure the affection of the Egyptians by flattering their religious prejudices; by recalling their ancient greatness, and asserting that he wished to restore them to their pristine grandeur; by professions of regard for his ally, the grand seignior; and by pretending that the invasion of Egypt, and the expulsion of the beys, were measures which merited or had obtained his assent. These arts, however, failed to produce the desired effect, and his arms alone could ensure the obedience which he courted, or avert the danger which he dreaded. An insurrection at Cairo had nearly proved fatal to his cause; and some hundreds of the French, including General Dupuis, their commander, were killed before it could be suppressed: a much larger number of the insurgents, of course, perished, and not a few afterward fell by the hands of the executioner; for Buonaparte, wherever he went, treated all

Affairs of Egypt.

who opposed him as traitors and rebels. Various skirmishes and some sharp actions took place between the invaders and the Mamelukes, under the command of the beys, in different parts of the country, particularly in Upper Egypt, in all of which the superior discipline and tactics of the French baffled the rude courage and desultory attacks of their opponents. It could not, however, be supposed that the Porte would leave them in quiet possession of a portion of her territory, or that England would make no effort to wrest it from their hands: Buonaparte was aware that if an army was sent from Europe to attack him on one side, while a Turkish force from Asia assailed him on the other, he might not be able to extricate himself from the difficulties with which he would be surrounded, and he therefore resolved to attack the Turks in the first instance, in the hope of subduing them before they could receive assistance from other quarters. He accordingly made preparations for an expedition against Acre, and sent his train of artillery, destined for the siege, by sea. The army, in four divisions, under the command of Kleber, Bon, Regnier, and Lannes, proceeded to El-Arisch, where an action was fought, in which the French were successful. They then moved forward to Jaffa, anciently called Joppa, a seaport town on the coast of Palestine, which was carried by assault, with great loss, after a vigorous defence. Numbers

Hostility of the beys.

Capture of Jaffa.

of the garrison were put to the sword; but the greater part having taken refuge in the mosques and implored mercy from the French, their lives were spared.

Being incumbered with nearly four thousand prisoners, from the care and maintenance of which, it is said, Buonaparte found it necessary to relieve himself, he ordered them to be marched to a rising ground near Jaffa, where volleys of musketry and grapeshot were played upon them by a division of French infantry; and such of the Turks as were not killed by the shot were put to death by the bayonet. The accumulation of unburied bodies occasioned the visitation of the plague, by which a great number of the French soldiers were soon infected, the hospitals crowded, and the medical staff embarrassed. In this crisis Buonaparte found an apothecary who consented to administer poison to the sick. A sufficient quantity of opium was, accordingly, mixed with pleasant food, of which the unsuspecting victims freely partook; and in a few hours five hundred and eighty soldiers, who had suffered so much for the tyrants of their country, thus miserably perished.

Massacre and pestilence.

Buonaparte then marched at the head of his troops for Acre, which at this moment contained within its walls two men, who, with the romantic heroism of the days of chivalry, united all the knowledge appertaining to the modern art of war—Sir W. Sidney Smith, a

Advance on Acre.

British naval officer of distinguished enterprise, and Colonel Phillippeaux, an emigrant officer of engineers. After rescuing his friend, Sir Sidney, from bondage in the Temple, and restoring him to liberty at the hazard of his life, Phillippeaux accompanied him in a small squadron to which he had been appointed, and, after cruising with him in the Levant, had embarked for Syria to afford assistance to the Pacha. On the 30th of March, 1799, the trenches were opened, about one hundred and fifty fathoms from the wall; and soon after the enemy advanced to storm the fortress. It was soon discovered, however, that a ditch of fifteen feet was to be passed, while the counterscarp was almost untouched; and the breach, which was not large, had been effected upward of six feet above the level of the works. Notwithstanding these obstacles, a body of grenadiers descended into the ditch, and attempted to scale the wall; but nothing could be achieved. The garrison was at first seized with terror, and many of the Turkish soldiers ran toward the harbor; but no sooner did they discover that the opening in the wall was several feet above the rubbish, than they returned to the charge, and showered down stones, grenades, and combustibles upon the assailants, who were obliged to retire, after losing two adjutants-general, and a great number of men. This event afforded so much encouragement to the troops of the Pacha, that

Sir Sidney Smith and Phillippeaux.

they made a sally, in which they killed several of the besiegers. In the interim, the English squadron discovered, in the neighborhood of Mount Carmel, a corvette and nine sail of gun-boats, laden with artillery and ammunition, intended to assist in the reduction of Acre, seven of which, containing all the battering train, were captured; and this fortunate incident contributed greatly to save the city. At this period of the siege Ghezzar Oglou, the Pacha, dispersed his firmauns among the Naplouzians, as well as into the towns in the Said, requesting the true believers to rise and overwhelm the infidels. The British squadron, which had been driven from the unsheltered anchorage of St. Jean d'Acre by the equinoxial gales, had no sooner resumed its station than another sortie was determined upon, for the purpose of destroying a mine made by the enemy below the tower. In this operation, the British marines and seamen were to force their way into the mine, while the Turkish troops attacked the enemy's trenches on the right and left. The sally took place just before daylight; and Lieutenant Wright, who commanded the seamen-pioneers, notwithstanding he received two shots in his right arm as he advanced, entered the mine with the pikemen, and proceeded to the bottom of it, where he verified its direction, and destroyed all that could be destroyed in its present state.

Capture of a French squadron.

A successful sortie.

The Samaritan Arabs having made incur-

sions even into the French camp, Buonaparte proceeded against them in person; and he found Kleber's division, consisting of two thousand Frenchmen, who had previously been detached as a corps of observation, fighting at the foot of Mount Tabor, and nearly encircled by a large body of horse, which he obliged to retire behind the mount, where a great number were drowned in the Jordan.

Buonaparte hastened to return to the camp before Acre, and the invaders at length completed the mine destined to destroy the tower, which had so long withstood all their efforts; but, although one of the angles was carried away, the breach remained as difficult of access as before. About this period the garrison sustained the loss of Phillippeaux, who died of a fever, contracted by want of rest, and extraordinary exertion. On the first of May, after many hours' heavy cannonade from thirty pieces of artillery, brought by the enemy from Jaffa, a fourth attempt was made; but the *Tigre,* moored on one side, and the *Theseus* on the other, flanked the town walls; and the gunboats, launches, and other rowboats, continued to flank the enemy's trenches to their great annoyance, till at length they were obliged to desist from the attack. Notwithstanding their various repulses, the enemy continued to batter in the breach with progressive success, and made nine several attempts to storm, but had as often been beaten back. The

Death of Phillippeaux.

garrison had long been in expectation of a reinforcement, under Hassan Bey, who had originally received orders to advance against Alexandria, but was afterward directed to proceed to the relief of Acre: it was not, however, till the fifty-first day of the siege that this fleet made its appearance. The approach of so much additional strength was the signal to Buonaparte for a vigorous assault, in hopes to get possession of the town before the reinforcement could disembark; and on the night of the 8th of May he succeeded in making a lodgment in the second story of the northeast tower. Daylight on the ninth showed the French standard unfurled on the outer angle; and at this most critical point of the contest Hassan Bey's troops were still in their boats, not having advanced more than halfway toward the shore. Sir Sidney Smith, whose energy and talents gave effect to every operation, landed the crews of the gunboats on the mole, and marched them to the breach, each man being armed with a pike. A heap of ruins between the besieged and besiegers served as a breastwork for both; the muzzles of the muskets touched, and the spear-heads of the standards locked. Ghezzar Pacha, hearing that the English were on the breach, quitted his station, where, according to the ancient Turkish custom, he was sitting to reward such as should bring him the heads of the enemy, and distributing cartridges with his own hands.

Gallant defence.

Bravery of Ghezzar Pacha.

This energetic old man, coming behind his British allies, pulled them down with violence, saying, "If any harm happen to our English friends, all will be lost." The whole of the reinforcements being now landed, the Pacha, with some difficulty, so far subdued his jealousy as to admit the Chifflick regiment, of one thousand men, into the garden of his seraglio, from whence a vigorous sally was made with an intention to obtain possession of the enemy's third parallel, or nearest trench; but the Turks, unequal to such a movement, were driven back into the town with loss; and, although the sortie did not succeed, it had the effect of obliging the enemy to expose themselves above their parapets, and the flanking fire of the garrison, aided by a few hand-grenades, dislodged them from the tower. Determined to persevere, the enemy effected a new breach by an incessant fire directed to the southward, every shot knocking down whole sheets of a wall, much less solid than that of the tower, on which they had expended so much time and ammunition. At the suggestion of the Pacha the breach was not this time defended, but a certain number of the enemy was let in, and then closed upon, according to the Turkish mode of war, when a sabre in one hand and a dagger in the other, proving more than a match for the bayonets, the survivors hastened to sound a retreat. Thus ended a contest, continued with little intermis-

Turkish tactics.

sion for five-and-twenty hours; and in which nature, sinking under the exertion, demanded repose.

Buonaparte is discouraged.

Chagrin began to be visible in the conduct of Buonaparte, who, for the first time in his life, beheld himself foiled, and that, too, by a town scarcely defensible according to the rules of art; while the surrounding hills were crowded with spectators, awaiting the result of the contest, to declare for the victor. The plague also found its way into the French camp, and seven hundred men had already fallen martyrs to that terrible malady. In this deplorable situation, the French commander-in-chief determined to make a last effort, and General Kleber's division was recalled from the fords of Jordan, to take its turn in the daily efforts to mount the breach at Acre, in which every other division in succession had failed, with the loss of their bravest men, and about three-fourths of their officers. Before this reinforcement could commence its operations, another sally was made on the night of the 10th of May by the Turks, who succeeded in making themselves masters of the enemy's third parallel, and advanced to the second trench; but, after a conflict of three hours, they were driven back, leaving everything *in statu quo,* except the loss of men, which was considerable on both sides.

Determined, at length, to raise the siege, Buonaparte first ordered his sick and wounded

to be sent away, and, to keep the besieged in check, increased the fire of his cannon and mortars. Ghezzar, remarking these dispositions for retreat, made frequent sallies, which were repulsed with vigor. The aspect of the field of carnage was horrible: the ditches and the reverses of the parapets were filled with the slain; the air was infected, and the proposition for a suspension of arms to bury the dead remained unanswered. After sixty days' continuance, Buonaparte, in a proclamation, announced to his army the raising of the siege, and resolved to return to Egypt, to defend its approach in the season of landing against the force assembled at Rhodes. On the 20th of May, the very day on which the army began its march, General Le Grange repulsed two sallies, and forced the Turks back into the town. General Lannes' division led the march; Regnier's evacuated the trenches; Kleber formed a strong rearguard; while Junot covered the left flank. Buonaparte threw into the sea the artillery which he could not carry back through the desert; and his battering train, amounting to twenty-three pieces, fell into the hands of the English. After blowing up the fortifications of Jaffa and Gaza, and inflicting a terrible vengeance on those who had defended their country against the invaders, the French passed over the desert, and were received by the inhabitants of Cairo, ignorant of recent events, as victors.

He determines to raise the siege.

He abandons his artillery.

Buonaparte, ruminating on his repulse at Acre, where he had, for the first time, experienced defeat and disgrace, resolved to repair to a country more congenial with his disposition and pursuits. This resolution to abandon his post, and to desert those gallant men who had braved every danger at his command, was only equalled by the mode in which it was accomplished. Leaving a sealed packet addressed to General Kleber, nominating that officer to the command of the army in Egypt during his absence, he embarked suddenly, on the 24th of August, with Generals Berthier, Lannes, Murat, and Andreossi, accompanied by Monge, Beutholet, and Arnaud, members of the Egyptian Institute, and attended by several Mamelukes, the future guards of his person. He communicated his design to none but those whom he intended to accompany him; and he left the army in a deplorable state. He was a deserter, too, in every sense of the word; for he quitted his command without orders, and even without permission. That singular good fortune, however, to which he was so often indebted, attended him on this occasion; for, after repeatedly escaping the vigilance of the English cruisers, he landed, first at Ajaccio, and then at Frejus; and on his arrival at Paris, on the 16th of October, he was courted by all parties, and invited by the Directory to a grand festival.

Buonaparte returns to France.

THE FIRST CONSUL

(A.D. 1799)

WILLIAM FRANCIS COLLIER

DURING his absence of seventeen months (May 9, 1798—October 8, 1799), the Directory had fallen into disgrace with the French people. Austria, with the aid of Suwarrow and his Russians, had recovered Italy. French soldiers had been defeated on the Rhine. And the money matters of the country were sadly behind.

Weakness of the Directory.

All eyes turned to Bonaparte, who resolved on a change. Abbé Sieyès one of the Directors, had sketched out a new Constitution, and it remained for Bonaparte and his grenadiers to overthrow the old state of things and lay the foundation of the new. The two Councils were removed to St. Cloud, lest they might be overawed by the mob of Paris. Bonaparte appeared one day among them, passed from the Hall of the Ancients to that of the Five Hundred, and when in the latter, the cry of "No Dictator" rose from the angry members, who crowded noisily round him, a file of soldiers rushed in to save him. His brother,

Bonaparte overthrows it.

Lucien, who was president, left the chair, and proclaimed the Assembly dissolved. Murat then led through the Hall a band of grenadiers, with drums beating and bayonets at the charge, clearing out the members, some of whom tumbled with undignified haste out of the windows. Then the government of France was placed in the hands of three Consuls, appointed for ten years. Bonaparte was First Consul, and held all real power, his colleagues, Sieyès and Ducos, being mere assistants and advisers. These two inferior Consuls soon gave place to Cambacères and Lebrun. The law-making was done according to the new plan, by the Consuls, a Senate of 80, a Legislative Assembly of 300, and a Tribunate of 100 members.

The First Consul.

The First Consul then began to act the king. He wrote a letter to George III. of England proposing peace, but the offer was rejected in a strongly worded reply from Grenville. Already he had detached Russia from the coalition of nations against whom he had to contend. At home he bent all his energies to the raising of troops, and a quarter of a million conscripts were soon marshalled beneath his banner. He gagged the press. He put down the civil war in La Vendée. He filled France with detectives, whose vigilance covered the land with an unseen network of espionage. And, well aware of the national taste for show, he gathered into the ball-rooms of the Tuile-

ries crowds of handsome soldiers gay with scarlet and gold, and lovely women, whose toilettes rivalled in taste and splendor the fashions of the later Bourbon dames.

Resolved again to humiliate Austria on the plains of Lombardy, he signalized the last spring of the century by his famous passage of the Alps. With 36,000 men, and 40 cannon, he climbed the Great St. Bernard, his soldiers dragging the dismounted guns up the icy slopes in the hollow trunks of trees. Like an avalanche he poured his troops upon the green plain below. On the 2d of June he entered Milan in triumph, and met the wings of his army, which had crossed by the Simplon and the St. Gothard. A fortnight later, he met old Melas, the Austrian leader, on the plain of Marengo near Alessandria. The French army, outnumbered three to one, was driven back and all but beaten, until the gallant Desaix flung himself with the last reserve upon the Austrian column and broke it to pieces. The leader of the charge, to whom not long before Bonaparte had presented a sword engraven with the proud words, *"Conquête de la Haute Egypte,"* fell dead from his horse, shot through the breast in the moment of victory. The Austrians were soon driven beyond the Adige and the Brenta. In the same year (November 3) Moreau, who had been sent to the Rhine, defeated the Austrians at Hohenlinden. These successes were fol-

Passage of the Alps.

Battle of Marengo.

lowed by the Treaty of Luneville, concluded between Austria and France. The leading terms of this peace were similar to those of Campo Formio.

Ere this Christianity had been re-established in France; and the people gladly welcomed the old familiar chime of the church-bells, ringing in the seventh day's rest. Now a general amnesty was granted to all emigrants, who would take an oath of allegiance to the new government before a certain date, and about 100,000 exiles turned their weary feet toward home. Wherever it was possible, these returning wanderers got back their old estates. The "Legion of Honor" was instituted for both soldiers and civilians. England was the power most dreaded by Bonaparte; and he well knew that her navy was her highest glory and greatest strength. He worked in the northern courts until he united Russia, Sweden, Denmark, and afterward Prussia, in a formidable league against England and her ships. But Nelson, sailing into the harbor of Copenhagen in the face of 2,000 cannon, crushed the naval power of Denmark in four hours (April 2, 1801). And, a few days earlier, the Emperor Paul of Russia was strangled by conspirators. So the giant league melted into nothing. At the same time British bayonets, under Sir Ralph Abercromby, scattered the last relics of the army which Bonaparte had abandoned in Egypt. These disap-

Return of the emigres

pointments and reverses made the First Consul wish for peace. At Amiens this short-lived peace was signed. France retained Belgium and the left bank of the Rhine, and got back her West Indian islands. Holland received once more the Cape of Good Hope. England kept Ceylon. But Napoleon never meant peace; all he intended was a short breathing time, that he might take an important step at home, and gird himself for a more brilliant career of victory abroad. Peace of Amiens.

All France was wild with delight at the dazzling glory of the First Consul's victories, and the kindness of his rule. When the enthusiasm had reached the boiling point, a decree of the Senate appeared, proclaiming Bonaparte First Consul for life. The votes of the people all over the land ratified the change.

One work he did at this time, which half redeems his memory, in France at least, from the red cloud that blurs its glory. He set a number of his best lawyers, with Cambacères at their head, to arrange the laws of his adopted land. Six distinct codes, published at various times, are loosely grouped together as the Code Napoléon. Of these, the Civil Code is undoubtedly the best; and France still enjoys the valued legacy. In the schools instruction took, as might be expected, an almost exclusively military turn. Latin, mathematics, and drill were the great aims of the The Code Napoleon.

Bonaparte King of Italy.

The republics of Italy were then all merged into a kingdom, of which Bonaparte was invited to become king. It pleased him well. Indeed, he must have foreseen and worked toward this ancient end of French ambition. In the cathedral of Milan (May 26, 1805), he assumed the iron crown of Lombardy, saying, as he placed the rusty rim upon his temples, "God has given it to me; woe to him who shall attempt to lay hands on it!" He then named Eugene Beauharnais, his stepson, as his viceroy in Italy.

[In 1800, Kleber, whom Napoleon had left in command in Egypt, is assassinated. In 1801, the Northern Confederation of Sweden, Denmark, and Russia is formed. Great Britain regards it as a declaration of war, seizes the Danish and Swedish West India islands and bombards Copenhagen. The Czar Paul is assassinated, and his son is conciliatory toward Great Britain. Portugal declares war against Spain, and after defeat gives up half Guiana to France and shuts its ports against Great Britain. Toussaint l'Ouverture is made life president of Hayti; proclaims independence and expels the French. Abercromby defeats the French outside Alexandria: they agree to evacuate, and Egypt is restored to Turkey.]

Toussaint expels the French.

THE INVENTION OF THE STEAMBOAT

(A.D. 1801—1807)

JAMES RENWICK

FULTON remained for two years in the neighborhood of Exeter, where his intelligence and ability obtained for him many useful and interesting acquaintances. Among these the most important were the Duke of Bridgewater and Earl Stanhope. The first of these noblemen fills a large space in the history of the internal improvements of Great Britain; and he was, in fact, the father of the vast system of inland navigation which has spread its ramifications over every accessible part of that island. With Earl Stanhope, Fulton's intercourse was still more intimate, and probably of an earlier date. This nobleman was endowed by nature with high mechanical talent. Had he been impelled by the stimulus of necessity, there is little doubt that he might have become distinguished as a successful inventor. As it was, he exhibited practical skill as a canal engineer; but here his reputation faded before the prior claims of the Duke of Bridgewater; while his inven-

Fulton's friendship with English inventors.

Earl Stanhope's friendship.

tions remained incomplete, and few of them have been carried into effect. Among other projects, this peer entertained the hope of being able to apply the steam engine to navigation, by the aid of a peculiar apparatus modelled after the foot of an aquatic fowl. On communicating this plan to Fulton, the latter saw reason to doubt its feasibility; and, in consequence, addressed a letter to his Lordship, in which the very views were suggested that were afterward successful upon the Hudson. This letter was written in 1793, immediately before the removal of Fulton from Devonshire to Birmingham.

Fulton becomes intimate with James Watt.

Fulton's residence in Birmingham brought him into communication with Watt, who had just succeeded in giving to his steam engine that perfect form which fits it for universal application as a prime mover. That Fulton became intimately acquainted, not only with Watt himself, but with the structure of his engine, we learn from two facts in his subsequent life; for we find him entering into a confidential correspondence with that great improver of the application of steam, and actually superintending the construction of an engine, in a place where no aid was to be obtained.

Until Watt had completed the structure of the double-acting condensing engine, the application of steam to any but the single object of pumping water, had been almost imprac-

ticable. It was not enough, in order to render it applicable to general purposes, that the condensation of the water should take place in a separate vessel, and that steam should itself be used, instead of atmospheric pressure, as the moving power; but it was also necessary that the steam should act as well during the ascent as during the descent of the piston. Watt's improvements

Ere the method of paddle-wheels could be successfully introduced, it was in addition necessary that a ready and convenient mode of changing the motion of the piston into one continuous and rotary should be discovered. All these improvements upon the original form of the steam engine are due to Watt, and he did not complete their perfect combination before the year 1786.

No sooner had that illustrious inventor completed his double-acting engine, than he saw, at a glance, the vast field of its application. Navigation and locomotion were not omitted; but, living in an inland town, and in a country possessing no rivers of importance, his views were limited to canals alone. In this direction he saw an immediate objection to the use of any apparatus of which so powerful an agent as his engine should be the mover; for it was clear that the injury which would be done to the banks of the canal would prevent the possibility of its introduction. Watt, therefore, after having conceived the idea of Local limitations.

a steamboat, laid it aside, as unlikely to be of any practical value.

The idea of applying steam to navigation was not confined to Europe. Numerous Americans entertained hopes of attaining the same object; but, before 1786, with the same want of any reasonable hopes of success. Their fruitless projects were, however, rebuked by Franklin; who, reasoning upon the capabilities of the engine in its original form, did not hesitate to declare all their schemes impracticable; and the correctness of his judgment is at present unquestionable.

Franklin's judgment.

Among those who, before the completion of Watt's invention, attempted the construction of steamboats,* must be named, with praise, Fitch

* In the first volume of Navarrete's *Coleccion de los Viages y Descubrimientos*, etc., published at Madrid, in 1825, there is a remarkable statement, in which the invention of the steamboat is ascribed to a Spaniard three hundred years ago. The particulars were derived from the public archives at Simáncas. The following is a translation of a part of this statement:

"Blasco de Garay, a sea-captain, exhibited to the Emperor and King, Charles the Fifth, in the year 1543, an engine by which ships and vessels of the larger size could be propelled, even in a calm, without the aid of oars or sails. Notwithstanding the opposition which this project encountered, the Emperor resolved that an experiment should be made, as in fact it was, with success, in the harbor of Barcelona on the 17th of June, 1543.

"Garay never publicly exposed the construction of his engine; but it was observed at the time of the experiment that it consisted of a large caldron or vessel of boiling water, and a movable wheel attached to each side of the ship. The experiment was made on a ship of two hundred tons, arrived from Colibre to discharge a cargo of wheat at Barcelona; it was called the *Trinity*, and the captain's name was Peter de Scarza.

"By order of Charles the Fifth, and the Prince, Philip the Second, his son, there were present at the time, Henry de

and Rumsey. They, unlike those whose names have been cited, were well aware of the real difficulties which they were to overcome; and both were the authors of plans which, if the engine had been incapable of further improvement, might have had a partial and limited success. Fitch's trial was made in 1783, and Rumsey's in 1787. The latter is subsequent to Watt's double-acting engine; but, as the project consisted merely in pumping in water, to be afterward forced out at the stern, the single-acting engine was probably employed. Evans, whose engine might have answered the purpose, was employed in the daily business of a millwright; and, although he might, at any time, have driven these competitors from

Early inventors of steamboats.

Toledo, the governor Peter Cardona, the treasurer Ravago, the vice-chancellor Francis Gralla, and many other persons of rank, both Castilians and Catalonians; and, among others, several sea-captains witnessed the operation, some in the vessel, and others on the shore. The Emperor and Prince, and others with them, applauded the engine, and especially the expertness with which the ship could be tacked. The treasurer, Ravago, an enemy to the project, said it would move two leagues in three hours. It was very complicated and expensive, and exposed to the constant danger of bursting the boiler. The other commissioners affirmed that the vessel could be tacked twice as quick as a galley served by the common method, and that, at its slowest rate, it would move a league in an hour. The exhibition finished, Garay took from the ship his engine, and having deposited the woodwork in the arsenal of Barcelona, kept the rest himself.

"Notwithstanding the difficulties and opposition thrown in the way by Ravago, the invention was approved; and if the expedition in which Charles the Fifth was then engaged had not failed, it would undoubtedly have been favored by him. As it was, he raised Garay to a higher station, gave him a sum of money (200,000 maravedies) as a present, ordered all the expenses of the experiment to be paid out of the general treasury, and conferred upon him other rewards."

the field, took no steps to apply his dormant invention.

Fitch and Rumsey.

Fitch, who had watched the graceful and rapid way of the Indian pirogue, saw in the oscillating motion of the old pumping-engine the means of impelling paddles, in a manner similar to that given them by the human arm. This idea is extremely ingenious, and was applied in a simple and beautiful manner; but the engine was yet too feeble and cumbrous to yield an adequate force; and, when it received its great improvement from Watt, a more efficient mode of propulsion became practicable, and must have superseded Fitch's paddles, had they even come into general use.

In the latter stages of Fitch's investigations, he became aware of the value of Watt's double-acting engine, and refers to it as a valuable addition to his means of success; but it does not appear to have occurred to him that, with this improved power, methods of far greater efficiency than those to which he had been limited before this invention was completed had now become practicable.

Miller and Symington.

When the properties of Watt's double-acting engine became known to the public, an immediate attempt was made to apply it to navigation. This was done by Miller, of Dalswinton, who employed Symington as his engineer. Miller seems to have been the real author; for, as early as 1787, he published his belief that boats might be propelled by

employing a steam engine to turn paddle-wheels. It was not until 1791 that Symington completed a model for him, of a size sufficient for a satisfactory experiment. If we may credit the evidence, which has since been adduced, the experiment was as successful as the first attempts of Fulton; but it did not give to the inventor that degree of confidence which was necessary to induce him to embark his fortune in the enterprise. The experiment of Miller was, therefore, ranked by the public among unsuccessful enterprises, and was rather calculated to deter from imitation than to encourage others to pursue the same path.

Symington's successful model.

Symington, at a subsequent period, resumed the plans of Miller, and, by the aid of funds furnished by Lord Dundas, put a boat in motion on the Forth and Clyde canal in 1801.

The experiments of Fitch and Rumsey in the United States, although generally considered as unsuccessful, did not deter others from similar attempts. The great rivers and arms of the sea, which intersect the Atlantic coast, and, still more, the innumerable navigable arms of the Father of Waters, appeared to call upon the ingenious machinist to contrive means for their more convenient navigation.

Further attempts at steam navigation in the United States.

The improvement of the engine by Watt was now familiarly known; and it was evident that it possessed sufficient powers for the purpose. The only difficulty which existed was in the mode of applying it. The first person

John Stevens of Hoboken

who entered into the inquiry was John Stevens, of Hoboken, who commenced his researches in 1791. In these he was steadily engaged for nine years, when he became the associate of Chancellor Livingston and Nicholas Roosevelt. A grant of exclusive privileges on the waters of the State of New York was made to this association without any difficulty, it being believed that the scheme was little short of madness.

Livingston, on his arrival in France, found Fulton domiciliated with Joel Barlow. The conformity in their pursuits led to intimacy, and Fulton speedily communicated to Livingston the scheme which he had laid before Earl Stanhope, in 1793. Livingston was so well pleased with it, that he at once offered to provide the funds necessary for an experiment, and to enter into a contract for Fulton's aid in introducing the method into the United States, provided the experiment was successful.

Livingston offers to provide funds.

Fulton had, in his early discussion with Lord Stanhope, repudiated the idea of an apparatus acting on the principle of the foot of an aquatic bird, and had proposed paddle-wheels in its stead. On resuming his inquiries, after his arrangements with Livingston, it occurred to him to compose wheels with a set of paddles revolving upon an endless chain, extending from the stem to the stern of the boat. It is probable that the apparent want of success which had attended the ex-

periments of Symington led him to doubt the correctness of his own original views.

That such doubt should be entirely removed, he had recourse to a series of experiments upon a small scale. These were performed at Plombières, a French watering-place, where he spent the summer of 1802. In these experiments, the superiority of the paddle-wheel over every other method of propulsion that had yet been proposed was fully established. His original impressions being thus confirmed, he proceeded late in the year 1803 to construct a working model of his intended boat, which model was deposited with a commission of French savans. He at the same time commenced building a vessel sixty-six feet in length and eight feet in width. To this an engine was adapted; and the experiment made with it was so satisfactory as to leave little doubt of final success.

Experiments at Plombières in 1802.

Measures were therefore immediately taken to construct a steamboat on a large scale in the United States. For this purpose, as the workshops of neither France nor America could at that time furnish an engine of good quality, it became necessary to resort to England. Fulton had already experienced the difficulty of being compelled to employ artists unacquainted with the subject. It is, indeed, more than probable that, had he not, during his residence in Birmingham, made himself familiar not only with the general

features but with the most minute details of the engine of Watt, the experiment on the Seine could not have been made. In this experiment, and in the previous investigations, it became obvious that the engine of Watt required important modifications in order to adapt it to navigation. These modifications had been planned by Fulton; but it now became important that they should be more fully tested. An engine was therefore ordered from Boulton & Watt, without any specification of the object to which it was to be applied; and its form was directed to be varied from their usual models, in conformity to sketches furnished by Fulton.

Modifications necessary.

The order for an engine, intended to propel a vessel of large size, was transmitted to Boulton & Watt in 1803. Much about the same time, Chancellor Livingston, having full confidence in the success of the enterprise, caused an application to be made to the Legislature of New York, for an exclusive privilege of navigating the waters of that State by steam, that granted on a former occasion having expired.

Renewal of exclusive privileges.

This was granted with little opposition. Indeed, those who might have been inclined to object, saw so much of the impracticable, and even of the ridiculous, in the project, that they conceived the application unworthy of serious debate. The condition attached to the grant was, that a vessel should be propelled by

steam, at the rate of four miles an hour, within a prescribed space of time.

Fulton visits England.

Before the engine ordered from Boulton & Watt was completed, Fulton visited England. Although the visit was ineffectual, so far as his project of torpedoes was concerned, it gave him the opportunity of visiting Birmingham, and directing, in person, the construction of the engine ordered from Boulton & Watt. It could only have been at this time, if ever, that he saw the boat of Symington; but a view of it could have produced no effect upon his own plans, which had been matured in France, and carried out, so far as the engine was concerned, as to admit of no alteration.

Returns to the United States.

The engine was at last completed and reached New York in 1806. Fulton, who returned to his native country about the same period, immediately undertook the construction of a boat in which to place it. In the ordering of this engine, and in planning the boat, Fulton exhibited plainly how far his scientific researches and practical experiments had placed him before all his competitors. He had evidently ascertained, what each successive year's experience proves more fully, the great advantages possessed by large steamboats over those of smaller size; and thus, while all previous attempts were made in small vessels, he alone resolved to make his final experiment in one of great dimensions.* That a vessel

* This was written in 1838.

intended to be propelled by steam ought to have very different proportions and lines of a character wholly distinct from those of vessels intended to be navigated by sails was evident to him. No other theory, however, of the resistance of fluids was admitted at the time than that of Bossut, and there were no published experiments except those of the British Society of Arts. Judged in reference to these, the model chosen by Fulton was faultless, although it will not stand the test of an examination founded upon a better theory and more accurate experiments.

First steamboat built and tried.

The vessel was finished and fitted with her machinery in August, 1807. An experimental excursion was forthwith made, at which a number of gentlemen of science and intelligence were present. Many of these were either sceptical or absolute unbelievers. But a few minutes served to convert the whole party, and satisfy the most obstinate doubters, that the long-desired object was at last accomplished. Only a few weeks before, the cost of constructing and finishing the vessel threatening to exceed the funds with which he had been provided by Livingston; he had attempted to obtain a supply by the sale of one-third of the exclusive right granted by the State of New York. No person was found possessed of faith requisite to induce him to embark in the project. Those who had rejected this opportunity of investment were now the

witnesses of the scheme which they had considered as an inadequate security for the desired funds.

Within a few days from the time of the first experiment with the steamboat, a voyage was undertaken in it to Albany. This city, situated at the natural head of the navigation of the Hudson, is distant, by the line of the channel of the river, rather less than one hundred and fifty miles from New York. By the old post road, the distance is one hundred and sixty miles, at which that by water is usually estimated. Although the greater part of the channel of the Hudson is both deep and wide, yet, for about fourteen miles below Albany, this character is not preserved, and the stream, confined within comparatively small limits, is obstructed by bars of sand, or spreads itself over shallows. In a few remarkable instances, the sloops which then exclusively navigated the Hudson had effected a passage in about sixteen hours, but a whole week was not infrequently employed in this voyage, and the average time of passage was not less than four entire days. In Fulton's first attempt to navigate this stream, the passage to Albany was performed in thirty-two hours, and the return in thirty.

First voyage to Albany.

[In 1802, Toussaint is kidnapped and taken to France. In 1803, Napoleon sells Louisiana to the United States for fifteen million dollars.

The United States purchases Louisiana.

Spain declares war against Great Britain.

The Dutch lose British Guiana and the British also capture Tobago and St. Lucia from France. Spain is forced by Napoleon to declare war against Great Britain. In 1805, Prussia receives Hanover and promises to exclude the British marine from her harbors.]

THE BATTLE OF TRAFALGAR

(A.D. 1805)

CHARLES ALAN FYFFE

EVENTS had occurred at sea which frustrated Napoleon's plan for an attack upon Great Britain. This attack, which in 1797 had been but lightly threatened, had, upon the renewal of war with England in 1803, become the object of Napoleon's most serious efforts. An army was concentrated at Boulogne sufficient to overwhelm the military forces of England, if once it could reach the opposite shore. Napoleon's thoughts were centred on a plan for obtaining the naval superiority in the Channel, if only for the few hours which it would take to transport the army from Boulogne to the English coast. It was his design to lure Nelson to the other side of the Atlantic by a feigned expedition against the West Indies, and, during the absence of the English admiral, to unite all the fleets at present lying blockaded in the French ports, as a cover for the invading armament. Admiral Villeneuve was ordered to sail for Martinique, and, after there meeting with some other ships, to re-cross the Atlantic with

Failure of Napoleon's naval designs.

Villeneuve's orders.

all possible speed, and liberate the fleets blockaded in Ferrol, Brest, and Rochefort. The junction of the fleets would give Napoleon a force of fifty sail in the British Channel, a force more than sufficient to overpower all the squadrons which Great Britain could possibly collect for the defence of its shores. Such a design exhibited all the power of combination which marked Napoleon's greatest triumphs; but it required of an indifferent marine the precision and swiftness of movement which belonged to the land-forces of France; it assumed in the seamen of Great Britain the same absence of resource which Napoleon had found among the soldiers of the Continent. In the present instance, however, Napoleon had to deal with a man as far superior to all the admirals of France as Napoleon himself was to the generals of Austria and Prussia. Villeneuve set sail for the West Indies in the spring of 1805, and succeeded in drawing Nelson after him; but before he could re-cross the Atlantic, Nelson, incessantly pursuing the French squadron in the West Indian seas, and at length discovering its departure homeward, at Antigua (June 13), had warned the English Government of Villeneuve's movement by a message sent in the swiftest of the English brigs, since no possible effort could have brought the fleet itself upwith Villeneuve, who was sixteen days in advance. The government, within twenty-four hours of receiving

Nelson pursues Villeneuve.

Nelson's message, sent orders to Sir Robert Calder instantly to raise the blockades of Ferrol and Rochefort, and to wait for Villeneuve off Cape Finisterre. Here Villeneuve met the English fleet (July 22). He was worsted in a partial engagement, and retired into the harbor of Ferrol. The pressing orders of Napoleon forced the French admiral, after some delay, to attempt that movement on Brest and Rochefort on which the whole plan of the invasion of England depended. But Villeneuve was no longer in a condition to meet the English force assembled against him. He put back without fighting, and retired to Cadiz. All hope of carrying out the attack upon England was irretrievably lost.

Villeneuve's partial defeat.

It only remained for Napoleon to avenge himself upon Austria through the army which was balked of its English prey. On the 1st of September, when the Austrians were now on the point of crossing the Inn, the camp of Boulogne was broken up. The army turned eastward, and distributed itself over all the roads leading from the Channel to the Rhine and the Upper Danube. For on the northeast the army of Hanover, commanded by Bernadotte, moved as its left wing, and converged upon a point in Southern Germany half-way between the frontiers of France and Austria. In the fables that long disguised the true character of every action of Napoleon, the admirable order of march now given to the

Napoleon marches on Austria.

March of French armies on Bavaria, September, 1805.

French armies appears as the inspiration of a moment, due to the rebound of Napoleon's genius after learning the frustration of all his naval plans. In reality, the employment of the "Army of England" against a Continental coalition had always been an alternative present to Napoleon's mind; and it was threateningly mentioned in his letters at a time when Villeneuve's failure was still unknown.

Austrians invade Bavaria.

The only advantage which the Allies derived from the remoteness of the Channel army was that Austria was able to occupy Bavaria without resistance. Its army, commanded by General Mack, crossed the Inn on the 8th of September. The Elector of Bavaria was known to be secretly hostile to the coalition. The design of preventing his union with the French was a correct one; but in the actual situation of the allied armies it was one that could not be executed without running great risks. The preparations of Russia required more time than was allowed for them; no Russian troops could reach the Inn before the end of October; and, with an ill-timed generosity, Mack had reduced his own force below its intended strength, in order to improve the army which his rival, the Archduke Charles, led into Italy. The consequence was that the entire Austrian force operating in Western Germany did not exceed seventy thousand men. Any doubts, however, as to the prudence of an advance through Bavaria were

Mack's reduced force.

silenced by the assurance that Napoleon had nothing nearer than Hanover and the British Channel. In total ignorance of the real movements of the French armies, Mack pushed on to the western limit of Bavaria, and reached the river Iller, the border of Würtemberg, where he intended to wait for the Russians, who were to accompany his further march into France.

Ignorance of French movements

Here, in the first days of October, a strange rumor reached him of the presence of French troops on the Danube, to the east of his own position. With some misgiving as to the situation of the enemy, Mack began to concentrate his own scattered forces at Ulm. Another week revealed the true situation of affairs. Before the Allies were aware that Napoleon had left Paris, before it had dawned upon Mack that any resistance would be made to him on the east of the Rhine, the vanguard of the Army of the Channel and the Army of Hanover had crossed Northwestern Germany, and seized the roads by which Mack had advanced from Vienna. Every hour that Mack remained in Ulm brought new divisions of the French into the Bavarian towns and villages behind him. Escape was only possible by a retreat into the Tyrol, or by breaking through the French line while it was yet incompletely formed. Resolute action might still have saved the Austrian army; but the only energy that was shown was

Mack at Ulm, October, 1805.

Escape of the Archduke Ferdinand

displayed in opposition to the General. The Archduke Ferdinand cut his way through the French with part of the cavalry; Mack remained in Ulm, and the iron circle closed around him. At the last moment, after the hopelessness of the situation had become clear even to himself, Mack was seized by an illusion that some great disaster had befallen the French in their rear, and that in the course of a few days Napoleon would be in full retreat. "Let no man utter the word 'Surrender' "—he proclaimed in a general order of October 15th;—"the enemy is in the most fearful straits; it is impossible that he can continue more than a few days in the neighborhood. If provisions run short, we have three thousand horses to nourish us. I myself," continued the general, "will be the first to eat horseflesh." Two days later the inevitable capitulation took place; and Mack, with 25,000 men, fell into the hands of the enemy without striking a blow. The hallucinations of this unlucky pedant would deserve no notice in history but for the light which they throw upon the qualities which in Austria were capable of passing for genius. Down to the campaign of 1805, Mack, in spite of his fatuities in Italy in 1799, had passed for a general of the first order. Such was his reputation at Vienna that Pitt himself had pressed the Emperor to make the gifted man commander-in-chief. Mack was brought to trial

Capitulation of Ulm.

after the capitulation of Ulm, and sentenced by a court-martial to imprisonment and degradation; but, after some years, compunctions visited his colleagues, and he was restored to his rank and his honors. Mack's rehabilitation could not affect the judgment passed by Europe upon the campaign of 1805: it was a perfectly truthful confession that there were as many Macks as there were great officers in the Austrian service. Mack's disgrace.

All France read with wonder Napoleon's bulletins describing the bloodless capture of an entire army, and the approaching presentation of forty Austrian standards to the Senate at Paris. No imperial rhetoric acquainted the nation with an event which, within four days of the capitulation of Ulm, inflicted a heavier blow on France than Napoleon himself had ever dealt to any adversary. On the 21st of October, Nelson's crowning victory of Trafalgar, won over Villeneuve venturing out from Cadiz, annihilated the combined fleets of France and Spain. Nelson fell in the moment of his triumph; but the work which his last hours had achieved was one to which years prolonged in glory could have added nothing. He had made an end of the power of France upon the sea. Trafalgar was not only the greatest naval victory, it was the greatest and most momentous victory won either by land or by sea during the whole of the Revolutionary War. No victory, and no series of victories, Trafalgar, October, 21.

of Napoleon produced the same effect upon Europe. Austria was in arms within five years of Marengo, and within four years of Austerlitz; Prussia was ready to retrieve the losses of Jena in 1813; a generation passed after Trafalgar before France again seriously threatened England at sea. The prospect of crushing the British navy, so long as England had the means to equip a navy, vanished: Napoleon henceforth set his hopes on exhausting England's resources by compelling every State on the Continent to exclude her commerce. Trafalgar forced him to impose his yoke upon all Europe, or to abandon the hope of conquering Great Britain. If national love and pride have idealized in our great sailor a character which, with its Homeric force and freshness, combined something of the violence and the self-love of the heroes of a rude age, the common estimate of Nelson's work in history is not beyond the truth. So long as France possessed a navy, Nelson sustained the spirit of England by his victories; his last triumph left England in such a position that no means remained to injure her but those which must result in the ultimate deliverance of the Continent.

Effects of the victory.

THE GREAT TRIUMPHS OF NAPOLEON

(A.D. 1805—1812)

WILLIAM FRANCIS COLLIER

AT Austerlitz, a Moravian village, the rival armies faced each other,—80,000 Russians and Austrians pitted against a nearly equal number of French veterans. A frosty sun shone bright upon the yet unsullied battleground, as three Emperors—Alexander of Russia, Francis of Austria, and Napoleon of the French—rode up the heights to watch the great game played out, and direct the movements of the day. France and Russia were to cross bayonets for the first time at Austerlitz. Cannon thundered, steel glanced, whirlwinds of cavalry swept across the field; and all the terrors and fury of battle began to rage. The Russian lines were too long and thin. At once Napoleon saw the fault, and like lightning formed his plan. Pushing in the centre, and breaking up the wings, he attacked the fragments of the line separately, and swept them in flying crowds from the field. In vain the Russian Guard strove to turn the tide of battle. It was a total rout. Then began the horrors of pursuit. A crowd of poor

Battle of Austerlitz.

wretches were fleeing over the ice which sheeted a neighboring lake, when the guns of the victors opened fire upon them, and they sank through the ripped and splintered floes. The loss of the allies exceeded 30,000—that of the French amounted to fully 12,000. The Treaty of Presburg, between France and Austria, was signed on the 26th of December.

Changes in Germany.

One result of Napoleon's triumph was a great change in the constitution of Germany. The Electors of Bavaria and Würtemberg were made kings; and many of the smaller States were formed, by the victor at Austerlitz, into the Confederation of the Rhine. Already, in 1804, Austria had been declared an empire, and the Emperor Francis II. of Germany had begun to call himself Emperor of Austria. This severance of Austria from Germany was formally completed in 1806.

The Emperor of the French then began to give away kingdoms. Seizing Naples early in 1806, he made his brother Joseph king. Turning the Batavian Republic into a Kingdom of Holland, he placed its crown on the head of his brother Louis. His brother-in-law, Murat, famed as the most dashing cavalry officer in Europe, became Grand Duke of Berg.

Prostration of Prussia.

But this year is most remarkable for the complete prostration of Prussia. She had been playing a double part; and never has man or nation done so without suffering just

and heavy punishment. Although she professed to be the friend of England, she made no scruple about receiving Hanover from the Emperor, who was England's bitterest foe. Napoleon now changed his tone, having no longer any need for keeping this truckling power in good humor. In two great battles,—Auerstadt and Jena,—fought upon the same day (1806), he utterly crushed the military power with which, but half a century ago, the Great Frederic had wrought such marvels. Prussia lay writhing at his feet.

The Berlin Decrees.

From the Prussian capital, which he entered in triumph a week after the bloody day of Jena, he launched the Berlin Decrees. Thunderbolts he meant them to be, scathing to the roots the oak of British commerce; but the petty squibs fizzed harmlessly at the foot of the great unshaken tree. The British islands were declared to be in a state of blockade. The Continent of Europe was to hold no correspondence, to transact no business whatever with Britain. British manufactures and produce were declared contraband. British property was a lawful prize. Letters to and from the shores of Britain were to be kept and opened at the post-offices. The defeat of these tremendous decrees was complete and very amusing. "Artillery, horse, and infantry were always defeated when opposed to his battalions; but printed ginghams were irresistible. There were conspiracies beyond the reach of

his spies in every parlor, where the daughters were dressed in colored muslins; and cloths, cutlery, and earthenware were smuggled wherever an English vessel could float."

We next find Russia facing the "Little Corporal," as his bronzed grenadiers loved to call him in their stories by the midnight watch-fire. It was in the depth of winter, in 1807, that the armies met on the field of Eylau. It was a drawn battle; but Napoleon, camping for eight days upon the reddened snow, claimed a great victory. But there was no doubt about the battle of Friedland, fought on the 14th of the following June. The Russians were driven across the Aller, with the loss of 60,000 men; and the Czar Alexander sought a peace, which was concluded at Tilsit on the Niemen. Prussia, who had plucked up heart again to dare French bayonets, had got her share of the beating, and was a partner in the humiliation of the peace.

Battle of Eylau.

The reaction now began. Having driven the royal house of Braganza from Portugal to Brazil, and having flung the Bourbons from the throne of Spain, he set his brother Joseph up, in place of the latter, as King of Spain. Murat was promoted to fill Joseph's vacant throne at Naples. The Spaniards drew their knives, called in British aid, and the Peninsular War began. The story of this war may be read in British history. Vimiera was its great opening field; and Vittoria (1813) the

The Peninsular War

decisive triumph of its great hero, Wellington. The war in the Peninsula was conducted by Napoleon's marshals, for greater interests occupied himself at the heart of Europe. He paid a short visit to Spain in the first year of the struggle, going, as he said, to rid the Peninsula of "the hideous presence of the English leopards." He beat the Spaniards at Tudela, entered Madrid in triumph (Dec. 4), and tried without success to cut off the retreating army of Moore. Then news of an Austrian war recalled him to France after an absence of scarcely three months.

Austria now mustered half a million soldiers, bent upon washing out in French blood the stains which Marengo and Austerlitz had left upon her banner. All around her frontiers and within her boundaries a spirit had begun to burn which boded no good to Napoleon. Major Schill (soon slain at Stralsund) drilled his corps of Prussian volunteers; and Hofer, the innkeeper of Tyrol (afterward shot at Mantua), roused the chamois-hunters to a patriotic war. There was no time to lose. Napoleon, dashing over the Rhine, beat the Archduke Charles at Eckmuhl, bombarded Vienna, and carried his eagles again into the splendid streets which had witnessed their triumphant march not four years before; and all this in nine days (April 3-12). He then crossed the Danube to the left bank, and fought there the indecisive battle of Aspern.

Capture of Vienna.

The Austrians broke down the bridge behind him, by throwing huge logs of timber into the swollen river. So he was obliged to shelter his army in the Island of Lobau, where he lay for six weeks. From this retreat he issued to fight the great battle of Wagram (1809). It was a terrible day. The thunder of the sky almost drowned the peals of gunpowder, as the armies rushed to the charge. All the roof-tops of Vienna were crowded with pale, excited men and women, gazing on a sight such as has seldom been seen. Four hundred thousand men were on the field. By mid-day the Austrian centre was driven in, and Francis, who had watched the battle from a hill, rode madly from the scene of slaughter and defeat. Peace followed as a matter of course. The Treaty of Schönbrunn, signed on the 14th of the following October, yielded to the conqueror territory containing more than two millions of people.

Battle of Wagram.

Treaty of Schönbrunn.

Yet Napoleon did not despise Austria. Far from it. It was indeed great glory for the *parvenu* to humble to the dust an ancient house like that of Hapsburg. But he had still that hankering after ancient name and lineage which often disfigures the character of a self-made man. Divorcing the faithful and loving Josephine, whose only faults were that she was a plebeian and had no children, he married the Archduchess Maria Louisa of Austria, in the hope that this daughter of the Haps-

Napoleon's marriage to Maria Louisa.

burgs would bear him a son. A year afterward his hope was realized. On the 20th of March, 1811, a son was born to him, whom he created at once King of Rome. But this King of Rome, better known as the Duc de Reichstadt, was not destined to hold the sceptre of France. Upon the fall of his father, in 1814, he retired to the Austrian court, and died at Schönbrunn in 1832.

The year which preceded the Austrian marriage had witnessed strange things in Rome. When Napoleon annexed to his far-spreading empire the Papal States, the poor Pope issued a bull of excommunication against the sacrilegious usurper. Napoleon, minding this once terrible instrument no more than the bite of a gnat, took a still more daring step. Sending his gendarmes one summer night to scale the walls of the palace on the Quirinal, he carried the Pope a captive to Savona, whence he removed him, in 1812, to Fontainebleau.

Napoleon's Empire.

The position of Napoleon at this height of his power (1811) is well worth marking. The French Empire, over which he ruled, extended from the borders of Denmark to those of Naples. Holland, Naples, and Westphalia were ruled by his kinsmen. His brother Joseph held an insecure throne at Madrid. Bernadotte, one of his generals, had been chosen Crown Prince of Sweden. As Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine, he held the German States in subjection, and he did the

same kind office for the Helvetic Confederation, into which he had formed the cantons of Switzerland. Prussia and Austria crouched at his feet, and Russia seemed his firm ally. In four years all was changed. The magician's wand was broken, and his magnificent theatre of action had shrunk into a little house and garden on a barren rock far out in the tropic seas.

End of the Holy Roman Empire.

[In 1806, the Holy Roman Empire comes to an end. In 1807, the last direct heir of the Stuarts dies. The British bombard Copenhagen and seize the Danish fleet to keep it from Napoleon's clutches. Aaron Burr is tried for treason. In 1808, the importation of slaves into the United States is forbidden. In 1810, George III. finally loses his reason. Nathan Rothschild founds a great banking house. In 1811, the Russians seize Belgrade and capture a Turkish army. An engagement occurs between an American and an English ship. The Mamelukes are destroyed by Mehemet Ali Pacha. In 1821, Perceval, the Prime Minister of England, is murdered. Bernadotte forms an alliance with England and Russia against France. Napoleon re-establishes the Kingdom of Poland in consideration of assistance and invades Russia.

The United States declare war against England.

Turkey invades and subdues Servia. The United States declare war against England and make an unsuccessful attack upon Canada.]

THE MOSCOW CAMPAIGN

(A.D. 1812)

CHARLES ALAN FYFFE

THE treaties which gave to Napoleon the hollow support of Austria and Prussia were signed early in the year 1812. During the next three months all Northern Germany was covered with enormous masses of troops and wagon-trains, on their way from the Rhine to the Vistula. No expedition had ever been organized on anything approaching to the scale of the invasion of Russia. In all the wars of the French since 1793 the enemy's country had furnished their armies with supplies, and the generals had trusted to their own exertions for everything but guns and ammunition. Such a method could not, however, be followed in an invasion of Russia. The country beyond the Niemen was no well-stocked garden, like Lombardy or Bavaria. Provisions for a mass of 450,000 men, with all the means of transport for carrying them far into Russia, had to be collected at Dantzig and the fortresses of the Vistula. No mercy was shown to the unfortunate countries whose position now

Preparations for invasion of Russia.

made them Napoleon's harvest-field and storehouse. Prussia was forced to supplement its military assistance with colossal grants of supplies. The whole of Napoleon's troops upon the march through Germany lived at the expense of the towns and villages through which they passed; in Westphalia such was the ruin caused by military requisitions, that King Jerome wrote Napoleon, warning him to fear the despair of men who had nothing more to lose.

Germany's sufferings.

At length the vast stores were collected, and the invading army reached the Vistula. Napoleon himself quitted Paris on the 9th of May, and received the homage of the Austrian and Prussian sovereigns at Dresden. The eastward movement of the army continued. The Polish and East Prussian districts, which had been the scene of the combats of 1807, were again traversed by French columns. On the 23d of June the order was given to cross the Niemen, and enter Russian territory. Out of 600,000 troops whom Napoleon had organized for this campaign, 450,000 were actually upon the frontier. Of these, 300,000 formed the central army, under Napoleon's own command, at Kowno, on the Niemen; to the north, at Tilsit, there was formed a corps of 95,000, which included the contingent furnished by Prussia; the Austrians, under Schwarzenberg, with a small French division, lay to the south, on the borders of Galicia. Against the main

Napoleon crosses the Russian frontier.

army of Napoleon, the real invading force, the Russians could only bring up 150,000 men. These were formed into the First and Second Armies of the West. The First, or Northern Army, with which the Czar himself was present, numbered about 100,000, under the command of Barclay de Tolly; the Second Army, half that strength, was led by Prince Bagration. In Southern Poland and on the Lower Niemen the French auxiliary corps were faced by weak divisions. In all, the Russians had only 220,000 men to oppose to more than double that number of the enemy. The principal reinforcements which they had to expect were from the armies hitherto engaged with the Turks upon the Danube. Alexander found it necessary to make peace with the Porte at the cost of a part of the spoils of Tilsit. The Danubian provinces, with the exception of Bessarabia, were restored to the Sultan, in order that Russia might withdraw its forces from the south. Bernadotte, the Crown Prince of Sweden, concluded an alliance with the Czar against Napoleon. In return for the co-operation of a Swedish army, Alexander undertook, with an indifference to national right worthy of Napoleon himself, to wrest Norway from Denmark, and to annex it to the Swedish crown.

The Russian forces.

Alexander and Bernadotte.

The headquarters of the Russian army were at Wilna when Napoleon crossed the Niemen.

It was unknown whether the French intended to advance upon Moscow or upon St. Petersburg; nor had any systematic plan of the campaign been adopted by the Czar. The idea of falling back before the enemy was indeed familiar in Russia since the war between Peter the Great and Charles XII. of Sweden, and there was no want of good counsel in favor of a defensive warfare; but neither the Czar nor any one of his generals understood the simple theory of a retreat in which no battles at all should be fought. The most that was understood by a defensive system was the occupation of an intrenched position for battle, and a retreat to a second line of intrenchments before the engagement was repeated. The actual course of the campaign was no result of a profound design; it resulted from the disagreement of the generals' plans, and the frustration of them all. It was intended, in the first instance, to fight a battle at Drissa, on the river Dwina. In this position, which was supposed to cover the roads both to Moscow and St. Petersburg, a great intrenched camp had been formed, and here the Russian army was to make its first stand against Napoleon. Accordingly, as soon as the French crossed the Niemen, orders were given to both Barclay and Bagration to fall back upon Drissa. But the movements of the French army were too rapid for the Russian commanders to effect their junction. Bagration, who lay at

Russians intend to fight at Drissa.

some distance to the south, was cut off from his colleague, and forced to retreat along the eastern road toward Witepsk. Barclay, who reached Drissa in safety, but knew himself to be unable to hold it alone against 300,000 men, evacuated the lines without waiting for the approach of the French, and fell back in the direction taken by the second army. The first movement of defence had thus failed, and the Czar now quitted the camp, leaving to Barclay the command of the whole Russian forces.

Russian armies severed, and retreat on Witepsk.

Napoleon entered Wilna, the capital of Russian Poland, on the 28th of June. The last Russian detachments had only left it a few hours before; but the French were in no condition for immediate pursuit. Before the army reached the Niemen, the unparalleled difficulties of the campaign had become only too clear. The vast wagon-trains broke down on the highways. The stores were abundant, but the animals which had to transport them died of exhaustion. No human genius, no perfection of foresight and care, could have achieved the enormous task which Napoleon had undertaken. In spite of a year's preparations, the French suffered from hunger and thirst from the moment that they set foot on Russian soil. Thirty thousand stragglers had left the army before it reached Wilna; twenty-five thousand sick were in the hospitals; the transports were at an unknown distance in

Collapse of the French transport.

the rear. At the end of six days' march from the Niemen, Napoleon found himself compelled to halt for nearly three weeks. The army did not leave Wilna till the 16th of July, when Barclay had already evacuated the camp at Drissa. When at length a march became possible, Napoleon moved upon the Upper Dwina, hoping to intercept Barclay upon the road to Witepsk; but difficulties of transport again brought him to a halt, and the Russian commander reached Witepsk before his adversary. Here Barclay drew up for battle, supposing Bagration's army to be but a short distance to the south. In the course of the night intelligence arrived that Bagration's army was nowhere near the rallying-point, but had been driven back toward Smolensko. Barclay immediately gave up the thought of fighting a battle, and took the Smolensko road himself, leaving his watch-fires burning. His movement was unperceived by the French; the retreat was made in good order, and the two several Russian armies at length effected their junction at a point three hundred miles distant from the frontier.

Delay at Wilna.

Barclay and Bagration unite at Smolensko

Napoleon, disappointed of battle, entered Witepsk on the evening after the Russians had abandoned it (July 28). Barclay's escape was, for the French, a disaster of the first magnitude, for it extinguished all hope of crushing the larger of the two Russian armies by overwhelming numbers in one great and

decisive engagement. The march of the French during the last twelve days showed at what cost every further step must be made. Since quitting Wilna, the 50,000 sick and stragglers had risen to 100,000. Fever and disease struck down whole regiments. The provisioning of the army was beyond all human power. Of the 200,000 men who still remained, it might almost be calculated in how many weeks the last would perish. So fearful was the prospect, that Napoleon himself thought of abandoning any further advance until the next year, and of permitting the army to enter into winter quarters upon the Dwina. But the conviction that all Russian resistance would end with the capture of Moscow hurried him on. The army left Witepsk on the 13th of August, and followed the Russians to Smolensko. Here the entire Russian army clamored for battle. Barclay stood alone in perceiving the necessity for retreat. The generals caballed against him; the soldiers were on the point of mutiny; the Czar himself wrote to express his impatience for an attack upon the French. Barclay, nevertheless, persisted in his resolution to abandon Smolensko. He so far yielded to the army as to permit the rearguard to engage in a bloody struggle with the French when they assaulted the town; but the evacuation was completed under cover of night; and when the French made their entrance into Smolensko

The French waste away

The French enter Smolensko.

on the next morning they found it deserted and in ruins. The surrender of Smolensko was the last sacrifice that Barclay could extort from Russian pride. He no longer opposed the universal cry for battle, and the retreat was continued only with the intention of halting at the first strong position. Barclay himself was surveying a battle-ground when he heard that the command had been taken out of his hands. The Czar had been forced by national indignation at the loss of Smolensko to remove this able soldier, who was a Livonian by birth, and to transfer the command to Kutusoff, a thorough Russian, whom a lifetime spent in victories over the Turks had made, in spite of his defeat at Austerlitz, the idol of the nation.

Barclay superseded by Kutusoff

When Kutusoff reached the camp, the prolonged miseries of the French advance had already reduced the invaders to the number of the army opposed to them. As far as Smolensko the French had at least not suffered from the hostility of the population, who were Poles, not Russians. On reaching Smolensko they entered a country where every peasant was a fanatical enemy. The villages were burnt down by their inhabitants, the corn destroyed, and the cattle driven into the woods. Every day's march onward from Smolensko cost the French 3,000 men. On reaching the river Moskwa, in the first week of September, 175,000 out of Napoleon's 300,000 soldiers

Cost of the advance.

were in the hospitals, or missing, or dead. The Russians, on the other hand, had received reinforcements which covered their losses at Smolensko; and, although detachments had been sent to support the army of Riga, Kutusoff was still able to place 125,000 men in the field.

On the 5th of September the Russian army drew up for battle at Borodino, on the Moskwa, seventy miles west of the capital. At early morning, on the 7th, the French advanced to the attack. The battle was, in proportion to its numbers, the most sanguinary of modern times. Forty thousand French, thirty thousand Russians were struck down. At the close of the day the French were in possession of the enemy's ground, but the Russians, unbroken in their order, had only retreated to a second line of defence. Both sides claimed the victory; neither had won it. It was no catastrophe such as Napoleon required for the decision of the war; it was no triumph sufficient to save Russia from the necessity of abandoning its capital. Kutusoff had sustained too heavy a loss to face the French beneath the walls of Moscow. Peace was no nearer for the 70,000 men who had been killed or wounded in the fight. The French steadily advanced; the Russians retreated to Moscow, and evacuated the capital when their generals decided that they could not encounter the French assault. The Holy City was left unde-

Battle of Borodino.

fended before the invader. But the departure of the army was the smallest part of the evacuation. The inhabitants, partly of their own free will, partly under the compulsion of the Governor, abandoned the city in a mass. No gloomy or excited crowd, as at Vienna and Berlin, thronged the streets to witness the entrance of the great conqueror, when, on the 14th of September, Napoleon took possession of Moscow. His troops marched through silent and deserted streets. In the solitude of the Kremlin, Napoleon received the homage of a few foreigners, who alone could be collected by the servants to tender to him the submission of the city.

The Russians evacuate Moscow.

But the worst was yet to come. On the night after Napoleon's entry, fires broke out in different parts of Moscow. They were ascribed at the first to accident; but when on the next day the French saw the flames gaining ground in every direction, and found that all the means for extinguishing fire had been removed from the city, they understood the doom to which Moscow had been devoted by its own defenders. Count Rostopchin, the Governor, had determined on the destruction of Moscow without the knowledge of the Czar. The doors of the prisons were thrown open. Rostopchin gave the signal by setting fire to his own palace, and let loose his bands of incendiaries over the whole of the city. For five days the flames rose and fell: when,

Moscow fired.

on the evening of the 20th, the last fires ceased, three-fourths of Moscow lay in ruins.

Such was the prize for which Napoleon had sacrificed 200,000 men, and engulfed the weak remnant of his army six hundred miles deep in an enemy's country. Through all the terrors of the advance Napoleon had held fast to the belief that Alexander's resistance would end with the fall of his capital. The events that accompanied the entry of the French into Moscow shook his confidence; yet even now Napoleon could not believe that the Czar remained firm against all thoughts of peace. His experience in all earlier wars had given him confidence in the power of one conspicuous disaster to unhinge the resolutions of kings. His trust in the deepening impression made by the fall of Moscow was fostered by negotiations begun by Kutusoff for the very purpose of delaying the French retreat. For five weeks Napoleon remained at Moscow as if spellbound, unable to convince himself of his powerlessness to break Alexander's determination, unable to face a retreat which would display to all Europe the failure of his arms and the termination of his career of victory. At length the approach of winter forced him to action. It was impossible to provision the army at Moscow during the winter months, even if there had been nothing to fear from the enemy. Even the mocking overtures of Kutusoff had ceased. The frightful reality

Napoleon's prize.

Russian craft.

could no longer be concealed. On the 19th of October the order for retreat was given. It was not the destruction of Moscow but the departure of its inhabitants, that had brought the conqueror to ruin. Above two thousand houses were still standing; but whether the buildings remained or perished made little difference; the whole value of the capital to Napoleon was lost when the inhabitants, whom he could have forced to procure supplies for his army, disappeared. Vienna and Berlin had been of such incalculable service to Napoleon because the whole native administration placed itself under his orders, and every rich and important citizen became a hostage for the activity of all the rest. When the French gained Moscow, they gained nothing beyond the supplies which were at that moment in the city. All was lost to Napoleon when the class who in other capitals had been his instruments fled at his approach. The conflagration of Moscow acted upon all Europe as a signal of inextinguishable national hatred; as a military operation it neither accelerated the retreat of Napoleon, nor added to the miseries which his army had to undergo.

Cause of ruin.

The French forces which quitted Moscow in October numbered about 100,000 men. Reinforcements had come in during the occupation of the city, and the health of the soldiers had been in some degree restored by a

Napoleon leaves Moscow.

FROM PAINTING BY MEISSONIER

THE RETREAT FROM MOSCOW

Vol IV, pp. 1887-1906

UNIV. OF WICH.

month's rest. Everything now depended upon gaining a line of retreat where food could be found. Though but a third part of the army which entered Russia in the summer, the army which left Moscow was still large enough to protect itself against the enemy, if allowed to retreat through a fresh country; if forced back upon the devastated line of its advance, it was impossible for it to escape destruction. Napoleon therefore determined to make for Kaluga, on the south of Moscow, and to endeavor to gain a road to Smolensko far distant from that by which he had come. The army moved from Moscow in a southern direction. But its route had been foreseen by Kutusoff. At the end of four days' march it was met by a Russian corps at Jaroslavitz. A bloody struggle left the French in possession of the road: they continued their advance; but it was only to find that Kutusoff, with his full strength, had occupied a line of heights further south, and barred the way to Kaluga. The effort of an assault was beyond the powers of the French. Napoleon surveyed the enemy's position, and recognized the fatal necessity of abandoning the march southward, and returning to the wasted road by which he had advanced. The meaning of the backward movement was quickly understood by the army. From the moment of quitting Jaroslavitz, disorder and despair increased with every march. Thirty thousand men were lost

Kutusoff's successful tactics.

upon the road before a pursuer appeared in sight. When, on the 2d of November, the army reached Wiazma, it numbered no more than 65,000 men.

Kutusoff follows by parallel road.

Kutusoff was unadventurous in pursuit. The necessity of moving his army along a parallel road south of the French, in order to avoid starvation, diminished the opportunities for attack; but the general himself disliked risking his forces, and preferred to see the enemy's destruction effected by the elements. At Wiazma, where, on the 3d of November, the French were for the first time attacked in force, Kutusoff's own delay alone saved them from total ruin. In spite of heavy loss, the French kept possession of the road, and secured their retreat to Smolensko, where stores of food had been accumulated, and where other and less exhausted French troops were at hand.

Frost, November 6.

Up to the 6th of November the weather had been sunny and dry. On the 6th, the long delayed terrors of Russian winter broke upon the pursuers and the pursued. Snow darkened the air, and hid the last traces of vegetation from the starving cavalry trains. The temperature sank at times to forty degrees of frost. Death came, sometimes in the unfelt release from misery, sometimes in horrible forms of mutilation and disease. Both armies were exposed to the same sufferings; but the Russians had at least such succor

as their countrymen could give: where the French sank, they died. The order of war disappeared under conditions which made life itself the accident of a meal or of a place by the campfire. Though most of the French soldiery continued to carry their arms, the Guard alone kept its separate formation; the other regiments marched in confused masses. From the 9th to the 13th of November these starving bands arrived one after another at Smolensko, expecting that here their sufferings would end. But the organization for distributing the stores accumulated in Smolensko no longer existed. The perishing crowds were left to find shelter wherever they could; sacks of corn were thrown to them for food.

French reach Smolensko, November 9.

It was impossible for Napoleon to give his wearied soldiers rest, for new Russian armies were advancing from the north and the south to cut off their retreat. From the Danube and from the Baltic Sea troops were pressing forward to their meeting-point upon the rear of the invader. Wittgenstein, moving southward at the head of the army of the Dwina, had overpowered the French corps stationed upon that river, and made himself master of Witepsk. The army of Bucharest, which had been toiling northward ever since the beginning of August, had advanced to within a few days' march of its meeting-point with the army of the Dwina upon the line of Na-

Converging Russian armies.

poleon's communications. Before Napoleon reached Smolensko he sent orders to Victor, who was at Smolensko with some reserves, to march against Wittgenstein and drive him back upon the Dwina. Victor set out on his mission. During the short halt of Napoleon in Smolensko, Kutusoff pushed forward to the west of the French, and took post at Krasnoi, thirty miles further on the road by which Napoleon had to pass. The retreat of the French seemed to be actually cut off. Had the Russian general dared to face Napoleon and his Guards, he might have held the French in check until the arrival of the two auxiliary armies from the North and South enabled him to capture Napoleon with his entire force. Kutusoff, however, preferred a partial and certain victory to a struggle with Napoleon for life or death. He permitted Napoleon and the Guard to pass by unattacked, and then fell upon the hinder divisions of the French army (November 17). These unfortunate troops were successively cut to pieces. Twenty-six thousand were made prisoners. Ney, with a part of the rear-guard, only escaped by crossing the Dnieper on the ice. Of the army that had quitted Moscow, there now remained but 10,000 combatants and 20,000 followers. Kutusoff himself was brought to such a state of exhaustion that he could carry the pursuit no further, and entered into quarters upon the Dnieper.

Battle of Krasnoi.

It was a few days after the battle of Krasnoi that the divisions of Victor, coming from the direction of the Dwina, suddenly encountered the remnant of Napoleon's army. Though aware that Napoleon was in retreat, they knew nothing of the calamities that had befallen him, and were struck with amazement when, in the middle of a forest, they met with what seemed more like a miserable troop of captives than any part of an army upon the march. Victor's soldiers, of a mere auxiliary force, found themselves more than double the effective strength of the whole army of Moscow. Their arrival again placed Napoleon at the head of 30,000 disciplined troops, and gave the French a gleam of victory in the last and seemingly most hopeless struggle in the campaign. Admiral Tchitchagoff, in command of the army marching from the Danube, had at length reached the line of Napoleon's retreat, and established himself at Borisov, where the road through Poland crosses the river Beresina. The bridge was destroyed by the Russians, and Tchitchagoff opened communication with Wittgenstein's army, which lay only a few miles to the north. It appeared as if the retreat of the French was now finally intercepted, and the surrender of Napoleon inevitable. Yet even in this hopeless situation the military skill and daring of the French worked with something of its ancient power. The army reached the

Victor joins Napoleon.

Napoleon outwits Tchitchagoff.

Passage of the Beresina.

Beresina; Napoleon succeeded in withdrawing the enemy from the real point of passage: bridges were thrown across the river, and after desperate fighting a great part of the army made good its footing upon the western bank (November 28). But the losses even among the effective troops were enormous. The fate of the miserable crowd that followed them, torn by the cannon-fire of the Russians, and precipitated into the river by the breaking of one of the bridges, has made the passage of the Beresina a synonym for the utmost degree of human woe.

Demoralization of the survivors.

This was the last engagement fought by the army. The Guards still preserved their order: Marshal Ney still found soldiers capable of turning upon the pursuer with his own steady and unflagging courage; but the bulk of the army struggled forward in confused crowds, harassed by the Cossacks, and laying down their arms by thousands before the enemy. The frost, which had broken up on the 19th, returned on the 30th of November with even greater severity. Twenty thousand fresh troops, which joined the army between the Beresina and the Wilna, scarcely arrested the process of dissolution. On the 3d of December Napoleon quitted the army. Wilna itself was abandoned with all its stores; and when at length the fugitives reached the Niemen, they numbered in all little more than 20,000. Here, six months earlier, 300,000 men had

French reach the Niemen, December 13.

crossed with Napoleon. Ninety thousand more had joined the army in the course of its retreat. Of all this host, scarcely the twentieth part reached the Prussian frontier. A hundred and seventy thousand remained prisoners in the hands of the Russians; a great number had perished. Of the 20,000 men who now beheld the Niemen, probably not 7,000 had crossed with Napoleon. In the presence of a catastrophe so overwhelming and so unparalleled the Russian generals might well be content with their own share in the work of destruction. Yet the event proved that Kutusoff had done ill in sparing the extremest effort to capture or annihilate his foe. Not only was Napoleon's own escape the pledge of continued war, but the remnant that escaped with him possessed a military value out of all proportion to its insignificant numbers. The best of the army were the last to succumb. Out of those few thousands who endured to the end a very large proportion were veteran officers, who immediately took their place at the head of Napoleon's newly raised armies, and gave to them a military efficiency soon to be bitterly proved by Europe on many a German battlefield.

Kutusoff's error.

Three hundred thousand men were lost to a conqueror who could still stake the lives of half a million more. The material power of Napoleon, though largely, was not fatally,

Effects of the campaign.

diminished by the Russian campaign; it was through its moral effect, first proved in the action of Prussia, that the retreat from Moscow created a new order of things in Europe.

British defeat the French at Vittoria.

[In 1813, the British defeat the French at Vittoria, and the battles of the Pyrenees, storming St. Sebastian and taking Pampeluna. After the French defeat at Leipzic, Italy revolts and the Austrians defeat Eugene Beauharnais. The French are also expelled from Holland, and the son of the former stadtholder is restored as William I. Denmark gives up alliance with France, and Norway is ceded to Sweden. England acquires Heligoland. Russia penetrates to the Caspian Sea. Trade with India is opened to all nations, and the British are defeated on Lake Erie.]

The British defeated on Lake Erie.

THE BATTLE OF VITTORIA

(A.D. 1813)

SIR ARCHIBALD ALISON

THE immense baggage trains of Joseph's army had now fallen back into the basin of Vittoria, and seventy thousand men were assembled to protect their retreat into France. But it seemed hardly possible that even that large force could secure the safe transit of such an enormous multitude of carriages; and yet how could they be abandoned without confessing defeat, and relinquishing, at the same time, the whole ammunition wagons and military stores of the army? The rapacity of the French authorities in Spain; the general spoliation which, from the marshals downward, they had exercised under the imperial orders in every part of the country, now fell with just but terrible force upon them: their gallant army was about to be overwhelmed by the immensity of its spoil. In retreating through Madrid and the two Castiles, the French authorities had levied contributions surpassing all the former ones in severity and magnitude; and the enormous

Concentration of Joseph's army.

sums raised in this way, amounting to five millions and a half of dollars, were all existing in hard cash, and constituted no inconsiderable part of the weight with which the army was encumbered. Not content with these pecuniary exactions, both Joseph and his generals had faithfully followed the example set them by the Emperor, in collecting and bringing off all the most precious works of art which adorned the Spanish capital and provinces. All the marshals, from Murat, who commenced the pillage, in 1808, had gratified themselves by seizing upon the finest paintings which were to be found in convents or private palaces in every part of the country; and Marshal Soult, in particular, had, from the rich spoils of the Andalusian convents, formed the noble collection of paintings by Murillo and Velasquez which now adorns his hotel at Paris. But when Joseph and his whole civil functionaries came to break up finally from Madrid, the work of spoliation went on on a greater scale, and extended to every object of interest, whether from beauty, rarity, or antiquity, which was to be found in the royal palaces or museums. Many of the finest works of Titian, Raphael, and Correggio were got hold of in this manner, especially from the Escurial and the royal palace at Madrid; while all the archives and museums in the capital and in Old Castile had been compelled to yield up their most pre-

Immense French spoil.

Soult's collection of paintings.

cious contents to accompany the footsteps of the fugitive monarch. All this precious spoil was dragged along in endless convoy in the rear of the French army; and when it halted and faced about in the basin of Vittoria, it was rather from a sense of the evident impossibility of transporting the prodigious mass in safety through the approaching defiles of the Pyrenees, than from any well-founded hope of being able to resist the shock of the Anglo-Portuguese army.

Embarrassment of the great convoy.

The basin of Vittoria, which has become immortal from the battle, decisive of the fate of the Peninsula, which was fought within its bosom, is a small plain, about eight miles in length by six in breadth, situated in an elevated plateau among the mountains. It is bounded on the north and east by the commencement of the Pyrenean range, and on the west by a chain of rugged mountains, which separates the province of Alava from that of Biscay.

The basin of Vittoria.

The strength of the French position consisted chiefly in the great number of bridges, which the allied forces had to pass, over the numerous mountain streams which descend into the basin of Vittoria, some of which, particularly that of Puebla and Nanclares, to the south of Vittoria, and that of Gamarra Mayor and Ariega, to the north of that town, were of great strength, and easily susceptible of defence. The ridges, too, which cross the plain,

The French position.

afforded successive defensive positions, the last of which was close to the town of Vittoria. On the other hand, the weakness of their situation consisted in the single line of retreat passable for the carriages of the army, which was kept open for them in case of disaster; and the appalling dangers which awaited them if their army in the plain met with a serious reverse, and either lost the command of the great road to Bayonne, or was driven, with its immense files of ammunition and baggage wagons, into the rough mountain road leading to Pampeluna.

Advance of the British.

At daybreak on the morning of the 21st, the whole British columns were in motion, and the centre and right soon surmounted the high ground which screened their night bivouac from the sight of the enemy; and their masses appeared in imposing strength on the summit of the ridges which shut in on the south the basin of Vittoria. The column on the left moved toward Mendoza, while Hill, at ten o'clock, reached the pass of Puebla, into which he immediately descended, and pressing through, began extending into the plain in front; Murillo's Spaniards, with surprising vigor, swarming up the steep and rocky ascents on his right. There, however, the French made a stout resistance; Murillo was wounded, but still kept the field; fresh troops reinforced their line on the craggy heights, so that Hill was obliged to send the 71st, and a bat-

talion of light infantry of Walker's brigade, to Murillo's support, under Colonel Cadogan. Hardly had he reached the summit, when that noble officer fell while cheering on his men to charge the enemy; and, though mortally wounded, he refused to be taken to the rear, and still rested on the field, watching with dying eyes the advance of his heroic Highlanders along the ridge. Still the battle was maintained with extraordinary resolution on the summit, and it was only by sending fresh troops to their support, and step by step, by force of sheer fighting, that the French were at length borne backward to nearly opposite Subijana; while Hill, in the valley below, encouraged by the progress of the scarlet uniforms on the summit on his right, pressed vigorously forward, and emerging from the defile of Puebla, carried by storm the village of Subijana, and extended his line into communication with his extreme right on the summit of the ridge.

Charge of the Highlanders.

Hill's success.

While this bloody conflict was going on on the steeps above the Zadorra on the right, Wellington himself, with the centre, had surmounted the heights in his front, and descended in great strength into the plain of Vittoria. His troops met with no serious opposition till they came to the bridges by which the rivers in the bottom were crossed; but as they were all occupied by the enemy, and the rocky thickets on their sides filled with tirail-

Progress of Wellington in the centre.

Obstinate resistance.

leurs, a warm exchange of musketry began, especially at the bridge of Nanclares, opposite the fourth division, and that of Villodar, by which the light divisions were to cross. The attack on these bridges was delayed till the third and seventh divisions, who formed the reserves of the centre, had come up to their ground, and they were somewhat retarded by the roughness of the hills over which they had to march; and, meanwhile, Wellington sent orders to Hill to arrest the progress of his extreme right on the summit of the ridge, in order that the whole army might advance abreast. Meanwhile, a Spanish peasant brought information that the bridge of Tres Puentes was negligently guarded, and offered himself to guide the light division over it; and the heads of the columns of the third and seventh divisions, forming the left centre, having now appeared on their ground, the advance was resumed at all points, both in the centre and on the right. Kempt's brigade of the light division, led by the brave peasant, soon gained the bridge; the fifteenth hussars, coming up at a canter, dashed by single file over, and the arch was won. It was now one o'clock; the firing was renewed with redoubled vigor on the heights above Subijana, while faint columns of white smoke, accompanied by a sound like distant thunder, showed that Graham's attack on Gamarra Mayor, in the enemy's rear, had commenced. At this

moment the third and seventh divisions were moving rapidly down to the bridge of Mendoza; but the enemy's light troops and guns kept up a most vigorous fire upon the advancing masses, until the riflemen of the light division, who had got across at Tres Puentes, charged them in flank, when the position was abandoned, and the British left crossed without further opposition. The whole French centre, alarmed by the progress which Graham was making in their rear, now retreated toward Vittoria, not, however, in disorder, but facing about at every defensible position to retard the enemy; while the British troops continued to advance in pursuit in admirable order, their regiments and squadrons surmounting the rugged inequalities in the ground with the most beautiful precision.

Capture of the Tres Puentes bridge.

Retreat of the French centre.

The decisive blow, however, had meanwhile been struck by Graham on the left. That noble officer, who, at the age of sixty-eight, possessed all the vigor of twenty-five, and who was gifted with the true eye of a general, had started before daylight from his bivouac in the mountains on the left, and by eleven o'clock, after a most fatiguing and toilsome march over the hills, reached the heights above Gamarra Mayor and Ariega, which were strongly occupied by the French right under Reille. General Oswald, who commanded the head of Graham's corps, consisting of the fifth division, Pack's Portuguese,

Decisive success of Graham on the left.

and Longa's Spaniards, immediately commenced the attack, and not only drove the enemy from the heights, but got possession of Gamarra Mayor, which cut off the road to Durango. Gamarra Mayor was the next object of attack; and the French, aware of its importance, as commanding the great road to Bayonne, made the most strenuous efforts for its defence. At length Robinson's brigade of the fifth division burst in, bearing down all opposition, and capturing three guns; but Reille's men had barricaded the opposite end of the bridge, and their fire from the windows of the houses was so severe that they retained the opposite bank of the Zadorra. At the same time, the Germans under Halket had, in the most gallant manner, assaulted the village of Abechuco, which commanded the bridge of Ariega. It was at length carried by the brave Germans and Bradford's Portuguese; but they were unable, any more than at Gamarra Mayor, to force the bridge, and a murderous fire of musketry was kept up from the opposite sides, without enabling either party to dislodge the other from its position. But, meanwhile, General Sarrut was killed, and some British brigades, pushing on, got possession of the great road from Vittoria to Bayonne, and immediately the cry spread through the French army that their retreat was cut off and all was lost.

Capture of Gamarra Mayor.

Death of General Sarrut.

It was no longer a battle, but a retreat; yet,

in conducting it, the French soldiers maintained the high character for intrepidity and steadiness which had rendered them the terror and admiration of Europe. A large body of skirmishers was thrown out to check the advance of the pursuing columns, and fifty guns, placed in the rear, which were worked with extraordinary vigor, retarded for some time the pursuit of the British centre. Wellington, however, brought up several British batteries, and the enemy were at length forced back to the ridge in front of Gomecha. An obstinate conflict took place in Arinez, into which Picton plunged at the head of the riflemen of his division; but at length the village was carried; the 87th, under Colonel Gough, stormed Hermandad, and the French in Subijana, finding their right forced back, were obliged to retreat two miles toward Vittoria in a disordered mass. Thus the action became a sort of running fight or cannonade, which continued for six miles; but the French, notwithstanding all their efforts, were unable to hold any position long enough to enable the carriages in the rear to draw off; and as they were all thrown back into the little plain in front of Vittoria, the throng there became excessive, and already the cries of despair, as on the banks of the Beresina, were heard from the agitated multitude. Joseph now ordered the retreat to be conducted by the only road which remained open, that to Pampeluna; but

Retreat of the French.

The French abandon Subijana.

it was too late to draw off any of the carriages; and "as the English shot went booming overhead," says an eyewitness, "the vast crowd started and swerved with a convulsive movement, while a dull and horrid sound of distress arose; but there was no hope, no stay for either army or multitude." Eighty pieces of cannon, jammed close together near Vittoria, kept up a desperate fire to the last, and the gunners worked them with frantic energy; while Reille, with heroic resolution, maintained his ground on the Upper Zadorra; but it was all of no avail: the great road to France was lost; an overturned wagon on that to Pampeluna rendered all further passage for carriages impracticable; the British dragoons were thundering in close pursuit, and soon the frantic multitude dispersed on all sides, making their way through fields, across ditches, and over the hills, leaving their whole artillery, ammunition wagons, and the spoil of a kingdom, as a prey to the victors.

Capture of the baggage.

Never before, in modern times, had such a prodigious accumulation of military stores and private wealth fallen to the lot of a victorious army. Jourdan's marshal's baton, Joseph's private carriage, a hundred and fifty-one brass guns, four hundred and fifteen caissons of ammunition, thirteen hundred thousand ball-cartridges, fourteen thousand rounds of ammunition, and forty thousand pounds of gunpowder, constituted the military trophies

Prodigious amount of the spoil taken.

of a victory where six thousand also were killed and wounded, and a thousand prisoners taken. It at one blow destroyed the warlike efficiency of the French army, swept them like a whirlwind from the Spanish plains, and made Joseph's crown drop from his head. No estimate can be formed of the amount of private plunder which was taken on the field; but it exceeded anything witnessed in modern war, for it was not the produce of the sack of a city or the devastation of a province, but the accumulated plunder of a kingdom during five years, which was now at one fell swoop reft from the spoiler. Independent of private booty, no less than five millions and a half of dollars in the military chest of the army were taken; and of private wealth, the amount was so prodigious that, for miles together, the combatants may be almost said to have marched upon gold and silver without stooping to pick it up. But the regiments which followed, not equally warmed in the fight, were not so disinterested: enormous spoil fell into the hands of the private soldiers; and the cloud of camp-followers and sutlers who followed in their train swept the ground so completely, that only a hundred thousand dollars of the whole taken was brought into the military chest! But the effects of this prodigious booty speedily appeared in the dissolution of the bonds of discipline in a large part of the army: the fright-

Importance of the victory.

ful national vice of intemperance broke out in dreadful colors, from the unbounded means of indulging it which were thus speedily acquired; and we have the authority of Wellington for the assertion that, three weeks after the battle, above twelve thousand soldiers had disappeared from their colors, though the total loss of the battle was only 5,180, of whom 3,308 were British; and these stragglers were only reclaimed by sedulous efforts and rigorous severity.

Demoralization of the troops.

So vast was the number of ladies of pleasure who were among the carriages in the train of the French officers, that it was a common saying afterward in their army, that it was no wonder they were beaten at Vittoria, for they sacrificed their guns to save their mistresses. Rich vestures of all sorts, velvet and silk brocades, gold and silver plate, noble pictures, jewels, laces, cases of claret and champagne, poodles, parrots, monkeys, and trinkets, lay scattered about the field in endless confusion, amid weeping mothers, wailing infants, and all the unutterable miseries of warlike overthrow. Joseph himself narrowly escaped being made prisoner: a squadron of dragoons pursued the carriage and fired into it, and he had barely time to throw himself out and escape on horseback under shelter of a squadron of horse; his carriage was taken, and in it the beautiful Correggio of Christ in the Garden, which now adorns Apsley House in London.

Escape of Joseph.

The great convoy of pictures, however, which Joseph was carrying off, after narrowly escaping recapture, reached France in safety, having set out a day previously. The bonds contracted during so many years' occupation of the Peninsula, many of them of the tenderest kind, were all at once snapped asunder by one rude shock; and amid the shouts of joy which arose on all sides for a delivered monarchy were heard the sighs of the vanquished, who mourned the severance of the closest ties by which the heart of man can be bound in this world. Wellington, in a worthy spirit, did all in his power to soften the blow to the many ladies of rank and respectability who fell into his hands. The Countess Gazan, with a number of other wives of the French officers, were next day sent on to Pampeluna with a flag of truce, in their own carriages, which had been rescued from the spoil. But a more important acquisition was obtained in the whole archives of the court of Madrid, including a great mass of Napoleon's original and secret correspondence, an invaluable acquisition to historic truth, to which this narrative has been more than once largely indebted. It is a remarkable fact, that the battle was fought in the close vicinity of the spot where the gallant attempt of the Black Prince to establish the rightful, though savage monarch, Peter the Cruel, on the throne of Spain, five hundred years before, had been victorious; and when

Wellington's humanity.

pursuing the French troops near Arinez, over the hill which still bears the name of the "English Hill" (Inglesmendi), the English soldiers unconsciously trode on the bones of their fathers. Twice had the fate of Spain been decided, by the aid of British blood, in the plain of Vittoria.

Here the fate of Spain twice decided.

THE BATTLE OF LAKE ERIE

(A.D. 1813)

JAMES FENIMORE COOPER

THE squadron was still lying at Put-in-Bay on the morning of the 10th of September, when, at daylight, the enemy's ships were discovered at the northwest, from the masthead of the *Lawrence*. A signal was immediately made for all the vessels to get under way. The wind was light at southwest, and there was no mode of obtaining the weather-gauge of the enemy (a very important measure with the peculiar armament of the largest of the American vessels) but by beating round some small islands that lay in the way. It being thought there was not sufficient time for this, though the boats were got ahead to tow, a signal was about to be made for the vessels to wear, and to pass to leeward of the islands, with an intention of giving the enemy this great advantage, when the wind shifted to the southeast. By this change the American squadron was enabled to pass the islands in the desired direction, and to gain the wind. When he perceived the American vessels clear-

The American squadron at Put-in-Bay.

ing the land, or about 10 A.M., the enemy hove to, in a line, with his ships' heads to the westward. At this time the two squadrons were about three leagues asunder, the breeze being still at southeast, and sufficient to work with. After standing down, until about a league from the English, where a better view was got of the manner in which the enemy had formed his line, the leading vessels of his own squadron being within hail, Capt. Perry communicated a new order of attack. It had been expected that the *Queen Charlotte,* the second of the English vessels in regard to force, would be at the head of their line, and the *Niagara* had been destined to lead in, and to lie against her, Capt. Perry having reserved for himself a commander's privilege of engaging the principal vessel of the opposing squadron; but, it now appearing that the anticipated arrangement had not been made, the plan was promptly altered. Capt. Barclay had formed his line with the *Chippeway,* Mr. Campbell, armed with one gun on a pivot, in the van; the *Detroit,* his own vessel, next; and the *Hunter,* Lieut. Bignall; *Queen Charlotte,* Capt. Finnis; *Lady Prevost,* Lieutenant-Commander Buchan; and *Little Belt* astern, in the order named. To oppose this line, the *Ariel,* of four long twelves, was stationed in the van, and the *Scorpion,* of one long and one short gun, on circles next her. The *Lawrence,* Capt. Perry, came next; the

Position of the ships.

The commanders.

two schooners just mentioned keeping on her weather bow, having no quarters. The *Caledonia,* Lieut. Turner, was the next astern, and the *Niagara,* Capt. Elliott, was placed next to the *Caledonia.* These vessels were all up at the time, but the other light craft were more or less distant, each endeavoring to get into her berth. The order of battle for the remaining vessels directed the *Tigress* to fall in astern of the *Niagara,* the *Somers* next, and the *Porcupine* and *Trippe* in the order named.

Gallant appearance of the English.

By this time the wind had got to be very light, but the leading vessels were all in their stations, and the remainder were endeavoring to get in as fast as possible. At this moment, the English vessels presented a very gallant array, and their appearance has been described as beautiful and imposing. Their line was compact, with the heads of the vessels still to the southward and westward; their ensigns were just opening to the air; their vessels were freshly painted, and their canvas was new and perfect. The American line was more straggling. The order of battle required them to form within half a cable's length of each other, but the schooners astern could not close with the vessels ahead, which sailed faster, and had more light canvas, until some considerable time had elapsed.

A few minutes before twelve, the *Detroit* threw a 24-pound shot at the *Lawrence,* then on her weather quarter, distant between one

The action begins.

and two miles. Capt. Perry now passed an order, by the trumpet, through the vessels astern, for the line to close to the prescribed order, and soon after the *Scorpion* was hailed and directed to begin with her long guns. At this moment, the American vessels in line were edging down upon the English, those in front being necessarily nearer to the enemy than those astern of them, with the exception of the *Ariel* and the *Scorpion,* which two schooners had been ordered to keep to windward of the *Lawrence.* As the *Detroit* had an armament of long guns, Capt. Barclay manifested his judgment in commencing the action in this manner, and in a short time the firing between that ship, the *Lawrence,* and the two schooners at the head of the American line became animated. A few minutes later the vessels astern began to fire, and the action became general, but distant. The *Lawrence,* however, appeared to be the principal aim of the enemy, and before the firing had lasted any material time, the *Detroit, Hunter,* and *Queen Charlotte* were directing most of their efforts against her. The American brig endeavored to close, and did succeed in getting within reach of canister, though not without suffering materially, as she fanned down upon the enemy. At this time, the support of the two schooners ahead, which were well commanded and fought, was of the greatest moment to her, for the vessels astern, though in

The English attack the *Lawrence.*

the line, could be of little use in diverting the fire, on account of their positions and the distance. After the firing had lasted some time, the *Niagara* hailed the *Caledonia,* and directed the latter to make room for the brig to pass ahead. Lieut. Turner put his helm up in the most dashing manner, and continued to near the enemy, until he was closer to his line, perhaps, than the commanding vessel; keeping up as warm a fire as his small armament would allow. The *Niagara* now became the vessel next astern of the *Lawrence.*

The effect of the cannonade was necessarily to deaden the wind, and for nearly two hours there was very little air. During all this time, the weight of the enemy's fire continued to be directed at the *Lawrence;* even the *Queen Charlotte,* having filled, passed the *Hunter,* and got under the stern of the *Detroit,* where she kept up a destructive cannonade on this devoted vessel. The effect of these united attacks, besides producing a great slaughter on board the *Lawrence,* was nearly to dismantle her, and, at the end of two hours and a half, agreeably to Capt. Perry's report, the British vessels having filled, and the wind beginning to increase, the two squadrons moved slowly ahead, the *Lawrence* necessarily dropping astern and partially out of the combat. At this moment the *Niagara* passed to the westward, a short distance to windward of the *Lawrence,* steering for the head of the

The wind falls.

The *Lawrence* suffers heavy losses.

enemy's line, and the *Caledonia* followed to leeward.

The rear vessels come up.

The vessels astern had not been idle, but, by dint of sweeping and sailing, they had all got within reach of their guns, and had been gradually closing, though not in the prescribed order. The rear of the line would seem to have inclined down toward the enemy, bringing the *Trippe,* Lieut. Holdup, so near the *Caledonia,* that the latter sent a boat to her for a supply of cartridges.

Captain Perry goes on board the *Niagara.*

Capt. Perry, finding that the *Lawrence* had been rendered nearly useless by the injuries she had received, and was dropping out of the combat, got into his boat and pulled after the *Niagara,* on board of which vessel he arrived at about half-past two. Soon after, the colors of the *Lawrence* were hauled down, that vessel being literally a wreck.

Captain Elliott takes charge of the *Somers.*

After a short consultation between Capts. Perry and Elliott, the latter volunteered to take the boat of the former, and to proceed and bring the small vessels astern, which were already briskly engaged, into still closer action. This proposal being accepted, Capt. Elliott pulled down the line, passing within hail of all the small vessels astern, directing them to close within half pistol shot of the enemy, and to throw in grape and canister as soon as they could get the desired positions. He then repaired on board the *Somers,* and took charge of that schooner in person.

When the enemy saw the colors of the *Lawrence* come down, he confidently believed that he had gained the day. His men appeared over the bulwarks of the different vessels and gave three cheers. For a few minutes, indeed, there appears to have been a general cessation in the firing, as if by common consent, during which both parties were prepared for a desperate and final effort. The wind had freshened, and the position of the *Niagara,* which brig was now abeam of the leading English vessel, was commanding, while the gun-vessels astern, in consequence of the increasing breeze, were enabled to close very fast.

Both parties prepare for a final effort.

At a quarter to three, or when time had been given to the gun-vessels to receive the order mentioned, Capt. Perry showed the signal from the *Niagara* for close action, and immediately bore up, under his foresail, topsails, and top-gallant sails. As the American vessels hoisted their answering flags, this order was received with three cheers, and it was obeyed with alacrity and spirit. The enemy now attempted to wear round, to get fresh broadsides to bear, in doing which his line got into confusion, and two ships, for a short time, were foul of each other, while the *Lady Prevost* had so far shifted her berth as to be both to the westward and to the leeward of the *Detroit.* At this critical moment, the *Niagara* came steadily down, within half

Captain Perry signals for close action

pistol shot of the enemy, standing between the *Chippeway* and *Lady Prevost,* on one side, and the *Detroit, Queen Charlotte,* and *Hunter* on the other. In passing, she poured in her broadsides, starboard and larboard, ranged ahead of the ships, luffed athwart their bows, and continued delivering a close and deadly fire. The shrieks from the *Detroit* proved that the tide of battle had turned. At the same moment, the gun-vessels and *Caledonia* were throwing in close discharges of grape and canister astern. A conflict so fearfully close, and so deadly, was necessarily short. In fifteen or twenty minutes after the *Niagara* bore up, a hail was passed among the small vessels to say that the enemy had struck, and an officer of the *Queen Charlotte* appeared on the taffrail of that ship, waving a white handkerchief, bent to a boarding pike.

Effective work of the *Niagara.*

As soon as the smoke cleared away, the two squadrons were found partly intermingled. The *Niagara* lay to leeward of the *Detroit, Queen Charlotte* and *Hunter,* and the *Caledonia,* with one or two of the gun-vessels, was between them and the *Lady Prevost.* On board the *Niagara,* the signal for close action was still abroad, while the small vessels were sternly wearing their answering flags. The *Little Belt* and *Chippeway* were endeavoring to escape to leeward, but they were shortly after brought to by the *Scorpion* and *Trippe;* while the *Lawrence* was lying astern and to

windward, with the American colors again flying. The battle had commenced about noon, and it terminated at three, with the exception of a few shots fired at the two vessels that attempted to escape, which were not overtaken until an hour later. Duration of the battle.

In this decisive action the two squadrons suffered in nearly an equal degree, so far as their people were concerned; the manner in which the *Lawrence* was cut up being almost without an example in naval warfare. It is understood that when Capt. Perry left her, she had but one gun on her starboard side, or that on which she was engaged, which could be used, and that gallant officer is said to have aided in firing it in person the last time it was discharged. Of her crew, 22 were killed and 61 were wounded, most of the latter severely. When Capt. Perry left her, taking with him four of his people, there remained on board but 15 sound men. For his conduct in this battle, Capt. Perry received a gold medal from Congress. Capt. Elliott also received a gold medal. Rewards were bestowed on the officers and men generally; and the nation has long considered this action one of its proudest achievements on the water. The condition of the *Lawrence*.

The results of the victory were instantaneous and of high importance. The four smallest of the prizes were fitted as transports, and, the *Lawrence* excepted, the American squadron was employed in the same duty. The Importance of the victory.

English had evacuated Detroit, and with it Michigan, and, on the 23d of September, the squadron conveyed a body of 1,200 men to the vicinity of Malden, in Upper Canada, of which place they took possession; and, on the 27th, Capt. Perry ascended to Detroit in the *Ariel,* and reoccupied that town, in conjunction with the army.

Detroit reoccupied.

THE DOWNFALL OF NAPOLEON

(A.D. 1815)

SUTHERLAND MENZIES

THOUGH France was able to march a very large and powerful force into Germany early in the spring, new enemies had arisen in the meantime. The coalition confronted Napoleon with 500,000 soldiers, 1,500 guns, and a reserve, ready to bring into line, of 250,000 more. Two Frenchmen were in its ranks: the Prince Royal of Sweden, Bernadotte, and the victor of Hohenlinden, Moreau, who, at the invitation of the Empress of Russia, had returned from America to aim a deadly blow against his country. Nevertheless, Napoleon was still alert and intrepid. On May 2, 1813, he gained a victory over the Russians and Prussians at Lutzen. On the 20th and 21st, he gained another at Bautzen. The Emperor of Austria then proposed a mediation. An armistice was concluded on the 4th of June, and a congress assembled at Prague to take into consideration terms of peace. The terms proposed were, that the French Empire should be

The German campaign.

Austria joins the confederates.

bounded by the Alps, the Rhine, and the Meuse, and that the German States should be restored to their independence. These terms were positively rejected by Bonaparte, and the armistice terminated August 10. Immediately afterward Austria joined the confederates.

The French Emperor had upon the Elbe and under hand only 360,000 men; still, however, presuming too far upon his strength, notwithstanding the inequality of numbers, and that his battalions were mostly filled by conscripts, he dared to threaten at one and the same time Berlin, Breslau, and Prague; which enfeebled him at his centre, at Dresden, where, however, in a great battle near that city on the 26th and 27th of August, Napoleon defeated the allies and compelled them to retreat. But while the great army of Bohemia was in disorderly flight across the mountains whence it had descended, Napoleon learned that Macdonald had just sustained a disaster at Katzbach (26th-29th of August), and that Oudinot had been beaten on the 23d at Gross-Beeren, upon his march to Berlin, and that Bavaria had joined the coalition. These bad tidings prevented him from following up in person the pursuit of the defeated army and overwhelming it. Vandamme, operating in Bohemia, but not being supported, was crushed at Kulm (30th of August), which nullified the victory at Dresden by leaving to

Battle of Dresden.

Kulm nullifies Dresden.

the Austrians the bulwark of the Bohemian Mountains, with the facility of issuing therefrom at will in order to turn the right of the French army. The defeat of Macdonald had lost Silesia and brought Blücher into Saxony; that of Oudinot and another sustained by Ney at Dennewitz (6th of September), in attempting to reopen the road to Berlin, allowed Bernadotte to reach Wittenberg, whence he joined hands with Blücher. Davout, who was already in the middle of Mecklenburg, where he had taken Wismar, was forced to follow the general movement of retreat beyond the Elbe. Thus, from Wittenberg to Tœplitz, the forces of the coalition formed a segment of a circle bristling with 300,000 sabres and bayonets threatening the front of the French, at the same time that its extremities made efforts to join ranks in the rear of Napoleon, with the intention of cutting off his return to France. Thus brought to bay, the French Emperor once again attempted to cut his way through the encircling enemy. On Napoleon concentrating his forces round Leipzic, that city being in the occupation of the French, the allied army was immediately formed into a crescent, having a single opening to the south-west, which they intended to fill up on the arrival of the Swedish army, under Bernadotte, and the Russian and Austrian divisions of Bennigsen and Colloredo. With such dispositions, Bonaparte resolved to stand the haz-

Loss of Silesia.

Napoleon brought to bay.

ard of a general engagement, and on the 16th of October was fought what the Germans have called the Battle of the Nations—a conflict the most murderous of modern history; 190,000 Frenchmen sustaining, during three days, the furious attacks of 133,000 allied enemies. The Saxons and Wurtemberg cavalry went over to the enemy upon the field of battle, and fired their cannon, already loaded with French balls, upon the French soldiery. So great was the vibration caused by the discharge of at least 1,200 pieces of artillery, that "the ground shook and reeled as with an earthquake." At the end of the third day's struggle, the reserves of the French artillery were exhausted, there remaining munitions for only 15,000 discharges, that is to say, for two hours' further combat; and the numbers of their enemies were incessantly increasing. As in 1812, the great captain was compelled to fall back without having been conquered, which voluntary retreat became a disaster; so, in 1813 also, that retreat involved a catastrophe only less calamitous than that of Moscow, because a less distance was to be crossed before he could reach a place of safety; and because he had not now to contend with the climate of Russia, or with the hardships of a rigorous season. Napoleon, with a view not to reveal too plainly his intentions, had not caused bridges to be thrown over the Elster and Pleisse; one only, long and narrow, had been

Battle of the Nations

A voluntary retreat

constructed at the divided branches of the two rivers. Therefrom arose a great obstacle to the crossing of the troops, delay, and then a fatal error. Soon after Napoleon had crossed, a miner blew up the Elster bridge before the last division of the army, with two marshals and many commanders of corps, had cleared it; so that 25,000 men were, in consequence, cut to pieces, taken prisoners by the allies, or drowned in the river. Macdonald swam across it; Lauriston and Reynier were made prisoners; the valiant Poniatowsky, after fighting bravely until the streets of Leipzic were strewn with the bodies of his soldiers, retreated toward the Elster; but, finding the bridge destroyed, he tried to swim his horse across the stream. But the bank being steep on the other side, the horse, in attempting to clear it, fell back on his rider, and both were drowned. Soon after the evacuation by the French, the two Emperors and the King of Prussia entered Leipzic, amid the acclamations of the grateful citizens (19th of October). On the 7th of November, Napoleon crossed the Rhine at Mentz, and two days afterward arrived in Paris.

Death of Poniatowsky.

Another period of war was about to scourge the nations of Europe. Yet the naked sword of vengeance was now visibly suspended over the head of that iron-hearted man, whose insatiable ambition still urged him to further sacrifice to it innumerable victims. Napo-

Campaign of 1814—Invasion of France.

leon had scarcely crossed the Rhine when the whole of the Rhenish confederacy abandoned him—an example soon followed by Holland, Switzerland, and Italy. The tide of war, which since the Revolution had overflowed Germany and the surrounding nations, was now rolled back on France itself. At the commencement of 1814, four armies invaded that country from different quarters, and advanced into the heart of France. On the 1st of January, Blücher crossed the Rhine with the Prussian army of the centre, that nation bringing into the field 130,000 men; the Austrians and Russians, advancing on the Swiss frontier, 150,000; Bernadotte with 100,000 by way of the Netherlands. At the same time the Austrians had another army in Italy. Murat, King of Naples, also joined the confederates, and Lord Wellington was already upon French territory with 80,000 English, Spaniards, and Portuguese. Finally, the German Empire placed on foot from 150,000 to 160,000 men, in eight divisions. Half a million of men, at least, therefore, were steadily about to hem in the French army, while the forces of the latter could not have amounted to so much as half the strength of its adversaries.

Napoleon still resourceful

Opposed by so many and such formidable foes, Napoleon appeared not to lose either his courage or his military genius. He disconcerted the allies by the rapidity of his move-

ments, and gained several brilliant successes; which, though they did not carry with them any lasting advantage, made his enemies still doubtful of the result. On the 29th of January, Blücher was attacked by Napoleon near Brienne so suddenly that he narrowly escaped being taken prisoner. Negotiations for a peace were, however, commenced at Chatillon early in February, 1814; but the insincerity which marked the conduct of the French commissioners prevented them from coming to any conclusion. Napoleon had at length beaten his enemies into the art of conquering, so that while he was manœuvring in their rear, the Prussians and Austrians made a rush on Paris, which fell almost without resistance, capitulated (30th of March), and the Senate decreed the imperial crown forfeited, and the Empire fallen. Napoleon abdicated (11th of April), and Louis XVIII. was recalled from exile to ascend the throne of his ancestors. The ex-Emperor had assigned to him the island of Elba as an independent sovereignty, with a pension of two millions of francs. The Duchies of Parma and Placentia were settled on his wife and son.

Fall of Paris.

On the 4th of May, 1814, the white banner of the Bourbons replaced the tricolor of Austerlitz, and, on the 30th of the same month, Talleyrand, the real head of the provisional government, signed with the allies a convention, with the view of affording France the

The Peace of Paris.

benefits of peace before a regular treaty could be prepared. The allies, by their celebrated Declaration of Frankfort (1st of December, 1813), had announced their wish to see France great, powerful, and happy, because she was one of the corner-stones of the European system; and they agreed, therefore, to evacuate the French territory, according to the ancient limits of it, on January 1, 1792, but with some few additions, partly in the Netherlands, and partly in Savoy. The terms, indeed, were so highly favorable to France that the veteran Blücher, among some other provisions, protested vehemently but ineffectually against the French being allowed to retain the German provinces of Lorraine and Alsace. Thus vanished with the stroke of a pen the fruits of twenty years of bloodshed and conquest.

Congress of Vienna.

In order to settle the general affairs of Europe, it had been determined to assemble a Congress at Vienna, which was formally opened November 1, 1814. While the leading powers were thus endeavoring to restore Europe to its ancient system, an event occurred which threatened to render all their deliberations useless. Napoleon, escaping from Elba with 900 of his veterans, landed near Cannes, in the Gulf of Juan, March 1, 1815. The army everywhere declared in his favor, and almost the whole of the civil authorities readily acknowledging his cause, Napoleon was thus once more seated on his abdicated throne

by the most rapid transition known in history (20th of March). The news of this event fell like a thunderbolt among the statesmen assembled at Vienna. The allied powers agreeing unanimously that they would have neither peace nor truce with the violator of treaties, it became evident, therefore, that there must be another appeal to the sword, and both parties made the most gigantic preparations. The three allied sovereigns and the Prince Regent of England launched afresh 800,000 men against France, and placed Bonaparte under the ban of the nations.

The usurper had tried to rally round him the liberals, by proposing institutions of a nature favorable to liberty, and similar to those of Louis's constitutional charter. But he clearly saw that his real strength lay in his army; and it was plain that if victory should restore his authority, all the national and civil institutions would again bend before his will. The Hundred Days.

About the middle of April, Blücher marched into the Netherlands and established his headquarters at Liège, and early in June he found himself at the head of an army of 117,000 men, with which he occupied the country between the Sambre and the Meuse, while the Duke of Wellington, with 100,000, occupied the whole of Flanders from Brussels to the sea. Napoleon, with his characteristic decision and promptitude, put himself at the head of 150,000 selected troops, and rap- The campaign of Four Days.

idly advanced against the Prussians. In the afternoon of the 16th, Napoleon, with 124,000 men, advanced to attack Blücher's position at Ligny. The Prussians fought with their accustomed bravery, and for five hours maintained their ground; but at about seven o'clock in the evening, a vigorous charge, led by Napoleon in person, threw their infantry into irretrievable disorder. Blücher, at the head of his light cavalry, now attacked the heavy French dragoons; but as he galloped forward, cheering on his men, his horse, struck by a cannon-ball, fell to the ground, crushing the rider beneath its body. The remnant of his army retreated in tolerable order, and left no trophy to the enemy but the field of battle. On the same day, at Quatre Bras, Marshal Ney had a severe struggle with the English, under the Prince of Orange, in which neither party gained complete superiority. In this action the Duke of Brunswick was killed—the son of that duke who had commanded the Prussian army in the war which broke out at the commencement of the Revolution. Both these actions are memorable as the precursors of the decisive battle which followed on the 18th, at Waterloo, and which terminated forever Napoleon's eventful career. Never, perhaps, was any defeat more bloody or more disastrous than that which he was there destined to sustain. He had issued his orders, and viewed the battle from a convenient dis-

Battle of Ligny.

Marshal Ney at Quatre Bras.

Waterloo.

tance; and an officer who stood near him affirmed that "his astonishment at the resistance of the British was extreme; his agitation became violent; he took snuff by handfuls at the repulse of each charge." At last, he took the officer by the arm, saying, "The affair is over —we have lost the day—let us be off!" In this heartless manner, and thinking only of himself, Napoleon abandoned an army which was wholly devoted to him. Such was that campaign of four days.

The defeated Emperor reached Paris on the 20th of June, and again abdicated in favor of his son (22d). On the 29th he set out for Rochefort, in the hope of escaping to America; but, finding that it was impossible to baffle the vigilance of the English cruisers, he surrendered himself to Captain Maitland, of the *Bellerophon*. When the allies were informed of this event, they decided that he should be sent as a prisoner to the Island of St. Helena, in the Southern Atlantic. There he died (5th of May, 1821). Napoleon abdicates.

The advance of the allied army on Paris was unobstructed, and, altogether, a victorious march. On the 7th of July the city surrendered, and on the 8th, Louis XVIII. re-entered it. Return of Louis XVIII.

Thus closed finally that succession of revolutions which had distracted Europe for a period of twenty-five years. Peace was again restored nearly on the basis of the treaty which

had been contracted the year before, but with some resumption of territory by the allies on the frontiers of the Netherlands, of Germany, and of Savoy, all the provinces of Germany being restored which had belonged to her before the Revolution, and had been torn from her during the wars that followed it. It was also provided that an allied army of 150,000 men should occupy, for the space of three or five years, a line of fortresses from Cambray to Alsace; the possession of which would enable them, in any case of necessity, to march upon Paris without opposition. This army was to be maintained wholly at the expense of France, and France agreed also to pay 700,000,000 of francs, to be divided in different portions among the allied powers, as a partial indemnification for the expenses of this last contest. The definitive treaty was signed at Paris on the 20th of November, 1815.

France loses her conquests.

Treaty of Paris.

WESTERN EUROPE AND THE HOLY ALLIANCE

(A.D. 1815—1825)

RICHARD LODGE

ENGLAND had done more than any other country to crush the power of Napoleon, but in the eyes of Europe it was Russia that had contributed most to his final overthrow. The story of the French invasion and of the burning of Moscow had fascinated men's minds and given them a profound impression of the invincible strength of the great Eastern Empire. Alexander I. found himself the greatest of living sovereigns and elevated to a kind of European dictatorship. He became impressed with the idea that he had a divine mission to restore peace and order to the world, and his enthusiastic temperament gave way to the impulses of religious superstition. He fell under the influence of the Baroness Krudener, a native of Riga, with whom he spent several hours of each day in prayer and consultation. At her instigation he drew up the plan of the famous Holy Alliance, to which he obtained the assent of the rulers of Austria and Prussia on

Importance of Russia.

The Holy Alliance.

the 26th of September, 1815. The three monarchs solemnly announced their intention of regulating their foreign and domestic policy by the precepts of Christianity, and declared that they would rule justly, promote brotherly love among their subjects, and do all in their power to maintain peace. All princes, except the Pope and the Sultan, were invited to join the alliance, which was to introduce a new era into Europe, and to prevent the recurrence of such convulsions as that which had lately been experienced.

The Revolution's principles adopted.

The motives which were expressed in the preamble were sincere at the moment, but they were the outcome of an unpractical enthusiasm that was entirely out of date. The objects of the Holy Alliance were necessarily modified by circumstances. The Revolution had been apparently suppressed, but its principles survived, and to some extent they had been adopted by the conquerors. The French Empire had fallen before the power of the peoples, who demanded a share in the government as a reward for their dangers and exertions. The old system of personal and irresponsible rule seemed to be an anachronism, and was regarded as such even by the Russian Czar. Alexander I. promised a constitution to the vassal kingdom of Poland which the treaty of Vienna had subjected to him. Frederick William III. had made a similar promise to Prussia. More conspicuous still, the

allies had not only permitted, but had almost compelled, Louis XVIII. to give a charter to France. It seemed likely that before long every country in Europe would receive a constitution on the model of that of England, and that the people would be allowed a voice in the control of taxation and expenditure. But these liberal principles of Alexander and his colleagues were accompanied with important reservations. All these constitutional privileges were to be free grants from the sovereign, any attempt on the part of the people to enforce concessions was regarded as Jacobinism, and any tendency in that direction must be suppressed as endangering the tranquillity of Europe. It was obvious from the first that this presupposed an amount of contentment among the subject populations that did not exist. The arrangements of the treaty of Vienna had been in the highest degree artificial, and they could not be maintained without the employment of force. Before long the Holy Alliance abandoned its high-sounding professions and became simply a league of sovereigns against the people—a kind of European police to put down all liberal movements.

Jacobinism to be suppressed.

It was in Germany that the force of the reaction first displayed itself. In Austria, the old absolute government had not been shaken by the Revolution, and was continued without opposition. The Viennese were too careless

The reaction.

and pleasure-loving to desire liberties which involved labor, and the real danger to Austria, the national aspirations of the Bohemians and Hungarians, had not yet arisen. Francis I. was a cautious and not unpopular sovereign; and Metternich, an amiable *roué,* thought only of suppressing disorder during his own generation. *Après nous le déluge* was his favorite sentiment. The finances were so culpably mismanaged that the debt continued to increase in time of peace, and the State fell under the control of Jewish money-lenders.

Prussia's disappointment.

In Prussia, the ardent hopes that had been roused by the war of liberation were doomed to bitter disappointment. Frederick William III., well-meaning but weak, submissively followed the lead of Russia, and sought only to secure quiet to his exhausted country. Hardenberg, who remained chief minister till his death, broke off his connection with the reforming party and adopted the royal system. The promised constitution was withheld, and expressions of discontent were carefully suppressed. At the same time the administration was honest and efficient, which helped to prevent any outbreak. But Prussia lost the chance of assuming the leadership of Germany, and the lesser States, who were jealous of her influence, adopted a more liberal attitude as the reaction gained ground in Berlin. In Wurtemberg, Bavaria, Baden, Hanover, Brunswick, and other provinces, the rulers granted

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NAPOLEON'S CUIRASSIERS AT WATERLOO

Vol. IV, pp. 1931-1942

UNIV. OF

constitutions on the model of the French Charter. But care was taken not to allow popular privilege to encroach upon prerogative, and the machinery of the Confederation was employed to suppress the slightest tendency toward liberal opinions. In 1817, a sensation was created by a grand meeting of German students at the Wartburg to celebrate the anniversary of the Reformation. Real alarm was professed two years later when Kotzebue, the dramatist, was assassinated by a student named Sand. The motive for the act was that Kotzebue was in correspondence with Alexander I., and was supposed to have warned him against the liberal spirit in the German universities. Metternich took advantage of this occurrence to hold a conference of ministers at Carlsbad, where it was decided to take active measures. The press was subjected to a rigorous censorship, the control of the universities was transferred to officials appointed by the government, and a commission was established at Mainz to examine into the supposed conspiracy and to punish the guilty. Metternich wished to utilize the opportunity to suppress the constitutions of the lesser States, but in this he was foiled.

Opposition to liberalism.

Assassination of Kotzebue.

Few princes have ever been placed in a more difficult position than that of Louis XVIII. after his second restoration in 1815. It is true that any open opposition was impos-

Difficulties of Louis XVIII.

sible as long as the allied troops remained in occupation of French soil; but the very fact that he owed his crown to foreign intervention was one of the great causes of his insecurity. Under these circumstances he took the wisest course open to him, and determined to conciliate the people by a punctilious observance of his engagements and by avoiding a revengeful and reactionary policy. But he found himself confronted by vehement opposition from his own family and his immediate followers. A royalist reaction had set in like that of 1660 in England. In the southern provinces the people rose and massacred the Bonapartists. In Paris, the emigrant nobles demanded the restoration of the old *régime* and the punishment of all who were connected with the recent Revolution. Louis XVIII. was determined not to yield to the solicitations of this party, or to adopt a policy which must inevitably lead to a new revolution as soon as the first force of the reaction was spent. But certain concessions had to be made, especially as the majority in the newly elected chambers was vehemently royalist. Talleyrand and Fouché were dismissed from the ministry, and their places taken by the Duc de Richelieu, who had won an honorable reputation in the Russian service as the founder and Governor of Odessa, and M. Decazes. Ney and several others, who had betrayed the monarchy on Napoleon's return, were tried and

Massacre of the Bonapartists.

Execution of Ney.

executed. Three laws were proposed and carried, to put down seditious cries, to authorize extraordinary arrests by the government, and to create special military courts for the summary trial of political crimes without the intervention of a jury. But here the government determined to stop; and when the majority of the Chambers demanded more extreme measures and clamored against the granting of an amnesty to traitors, Louis dissolved them. On the 5th of September, 1816, he issued an edict on his own authority, which made important changes in the system of representation. The number of deputies was reduced from 394 to 260, and the franchise, as settled by the Charter, was secured to all who paid 300 francs in direct taxes. The measure was a *coup d'état* in the liberal interest, and it was for the moment completely successful. The moderate party was in a majority in the new Chamber of Deputies, and the danger from the royalists was averted. But the change involved serious dangers in the future. A fifth of the Chamber had to be renewed every year, and it was almost certain that the new elections would be more and more liberal in their character.

A coup d'etat.

But at first this danger was overlooked, the ministry and the Legislature were in accord with each other, and a good opportunity seemed to present itself for freeing France from the expensive humiliation of its foreign

garrison. In 1817, a part of the allied troops was recalled and the moderation of Alexander I., who wished France to be strong enough to balance the other western powers, obtained a diminution of the indemnity which was to be paid before the occupation altogether ceased.

Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle.

In September, 1818, a great Congress of princes and ministers met at Aix-la-Chapelle. Here it was agreed that the occupation of French territory should entirely cease by the 30th of November, five years before the stipulated date. Next to the Czar, the chief advocate of this generous act was the Duke of Wellington, who had won universal respect as commander of the allied army. At the same time France was admitted to a share with the other great powers in regulating the affairs of Europe. By a treaty which was drawn up in November, the five powers, the "pentarchy," as they were called, pledged themselves to act in concord for the maintenance of European peace. In case of any disturbance, measures were to be concerted at a Congress, either of the sovereigns themselves or of their chief ministers.

Richelieu's troubles.

This signal diplomatic triumph seemed to give additional security to the ministry of Richelieu. But he was troubled by the increasing liberal majority in the Chamber of Deputies, and especially by the elections of 1818, at which Lafayette, Manuel, and Benjamin Constant were returned. He attributed

these disasters to the edict of September, 1818, which gave a majority of votes to the lower middle class; and he became convinced of the necessity of again changing the electoral law. As the King refused to recognize this necessity, Richelieu resigned in December, and Decazes became head of a purely liberal ministry. A number of popular measures followed. The censorship was abolished, and trial by jury was established for cases concerning the press. To prevent opposition from the upper chamber, the King consented to the creation of sixty new peers, nearly all of whom were men who had occupied important positions under the Empire. The royalists were in despair, and the Count of Artois maintained that his brother must have lost his senses. But Louis XVIII. soon discovered that even these enormous concessions had failed to conciliate the extreme liberals either to the crown or to the ministry. One of the chief causes of complaint was an agreement that had been made with the Pope, by which Napoleon's concordat was annulled, and the old concordat between Francis I. and Leo X. (1516) was restored. Decazes found himself attacked on both sides, and at last began to meditate some modification of the electoral edict of 1816. But while the matter was being discussed, an event happened which completely revolutionized French politics. On the 13th of February, 1820, the Duke of

Liberal measures.

Assassination of the Duke of Berry

Berry, second son of the Count of Artois, was assassinated by a man named Louvel. His death was the more important because his elder brother, the Duke of Angoulême, was childless, and it was to the Duke of Berry that men looked for a continuation of the royal line. He had been married in 1816 to Caroline Mary, granddaughter of the King of Naples, who was already the mother of a daughter, and who was pregnant at the time of her husband's murder. An irresistible royalist reaction now set in, Decazes had to resign, and Richelieu once more undertook the direction of affairs, with the support of the Right instead of the Left in the chambers. The censorship of the press was re-established and a new electoral law was introduced, which placed the election of half the deputies in the hands of the wealthy classes. The feeling in favor of the crown was increased by two events: the birth of a son, Henry, Duke of Bordeaux, to the Duchess of Berry, in September, 1820, and the death of the late Emperor at St. Helena on the 5th of May, 1821. In December, 1821, Richelieu, who found himself more and more out of harmony with the Ultras, resigned office for the second time, and was succeeded by Villèle, the recognized leader of the royalist party. From this time, Louis XVIII., whose energy declined with advancing years, and who fell under the influence of Madame du Cayla, practically re-

Royalist reaction.

Death of Napoleon.

signed his authority to the Count of Artois. Another change in the constitution, which abolished the annual election of a fifth of the deputies, and authorized the Chamber to sit for seven years, secured the victory of the reactionary party.

Nothing illustrates more clearly the wisdom of Louis XVIII. than a comparison of the policy pursued by another restored Bourbon, Ferdinand VII. of Spain. When Ferdinand was released by Napoleon at the beginning of 1814, Spain was still governed by the Cortes which had been created under the constitution of 1812. At first the King undertook to maintain this form of government, but, on arriving on Spanish soil, he discovered that the liberal administration was by no means popular among the peasants and was detested by the priests. Ferdinand was a worthless and incapable prince, who had learned nothing in his four years' captivity except an aptitude for lying and intrigue, and who was subject to two guiding passions, sensuality and superstition. From Valencia he issued an edict dissolving the Cortes and promising a new constitution in place of that of 1812. So strong was the reaction in favor of the monarchy, that this measure was hailed with applause, and the King entered Madrid in triumph. No sooner was he established on the throne than he threw his promises to the wind and restored the old absolutism with all

Policy of Ferdinand VII. of Spain.

His character.

its abuses. The nobles recovered their privileges and their exemption from taxes, the monasteries were restored, the Inquisition resumed its activity, and the Jesuits returned to Spain. All liberals and all adherents of Joseph Bonaparte were ruthlessly persecuted. The government was conducted by a *camarilla* of worthless courtiers and priests, who encouraged the King to fresh acts of reactionary violence. For six years this royalist reign of terror was continued, and the suppression of isolated revolts gave occasion for new cruelties. The finances of the country were in the most wretched condition, owing to the loss of the American colonies, which had taken advantage of Napoleon's conquest of Spain to establish their independence. Instead of trying to restore prosperity by maintaining peace, Ferdinand squandered large sums upon futile expeditions to recover the colonies. One of his expedients for raising money was the sale of Florida to the United States in 1819. Discontent in Spain found expression in numerous secret societies, for which the model was found in Italy. It was among the soldiers, neglected and ill-paid, that these societies found their most numerous and active adherents. At last, in 1820, the standard of revolt was raised at Cadiz by Riego and Quiroga, two officers of an expedition that had been prepared for South America. Vigorous action at the outset might have crushed the ris-

Persecution of the liberals.

Sale of Florida to the United States.

ing, but Ferdinand and his advisers were as incapable as they were tyrannical, and before long the movement had spread over the whole country. In March, the King gave way and accepted the constitution of 1812. The royalists, the *serviles,* as they were called, were dismissed from office and their places taken by liberals. The Cortes met in July, and at once proceeded to dissolve the monasteries and the Inquisition, to confiscate the clerical tithes, to abolish entails, and to secure freedom for the press and for popular meetings. At first, the moderate party, headed by Martinez de la Rosa, endeavored to suppress disorder and to establish a durable constitutional government. But this the King was determined to prevent, and the moderates were defeated by a factious combination of royalists and radicals. Risings of the loyal and bigoted peasants in the provinces were suppressed, and contributed to the victory of the extreme party. In 1822, the election of Riego as president of the Cortes seemed to mark the final triumph of the Revolution in Spain.

Riego's rebellion.

The rising in Spain gave the signal for similar movements in other countries. Portugal, as being the nearest, was the first to feel the impulse. The Portuguese had many grievances to complain of. On the first invasion of Marshal Junot the royal family had fled to Brazil. When, in 1816, the death of Maria gave the crown to the former Regent, John

Revolution in Portugal.

VI., he continued to reside in Rio Janeiro as ruler of the United Kingdom of Portugal, Brazil, and the Algarves. The government of Portugal was intrusted to a Council of Regency at Lisbon. But the real power was in the hands of Lord Beresford, who remained commander-in-chief of the army after the conclusion of the war. The Portuguese were naturally indignant that their country should be ruled by a foreigner, and that it should be treated as an appendage of one of its own colonies. In August, 1820, the events in Spain encouraged a rising, for which a convenient opportunity was given by the absence of Beresford at Rio. A revolutionary junta was established at Oporto and speedily obtained adherents in the other towns. The Council of Regency was compelled to abdicate, and a constitution was introduced on the model of that of Spain. Lord Beresford was refused admittance to Lisbon and had to sail to England, but the government refused to interfere in the internal affairs of Portugal. At the same time the revolutionary movement spread to Brazil, where it found a supporter in the King's eldest son, Dom Pedro. The result was that John VI. had to resign the administration to his son, and with the rest of his family sailed to Lisbon, where he arrived on the 3d of July, 1821. Here he was compelled to accept the constitution which had been established in his absence. These events

Beresford's power.

Brazil separated from Portugal.

were followed by the formal separation of Brazil from Portugal. The Cortes at Lisbon was determined to reduce the powerful colony to its former dependence, and orders were sent to Dom Pedro to return to Portugal. The Prince, convinced that such a step would result in the loss of Brazil to the House of Braganza, refused obedience, and was supported by his subjects. In 1822, he was proclaimed Emperor of Brazil and adopted a constitution.

Brazil becomes an Empire.

In Italy, the House of Hapsburg had recovered even more than its old predominance by the treaty of Vienna. The instinct of self-preservation impelled Austria to do all in its power to crush the tendencies toward self-rule or national unity which had been aroused during the Napoleonic period. In the provinces of Lombardy and Venice a carefully organized system of espionage and police, with an active censorship of the press, reduced the people to dumb, if unsatisfied, submission. But for absolute security it was necessary that the other States of the Peninsula should pursue the same system, so that there should be no ground for jealous comparisons. This object was also obtained. The rulers of Parma and Modena obeyed the slightest hint from Vienna, and anxiously copied the Austrian administration in every detail. In Rome, Pius VII., and still more his successor, Leo XII., strove successfully to restore the old traditions

Austria in Italy.

of priestly rule. In Tuscany, Ferdinand III. allowed a certain freedom of thought and expression; and Florence became a refuge for men whose utterances were checked elsewhere. But the Grand Duke was too much of a Hapsburg to extend this liberty to politics; all popular institutions were suppressed, the police were as active as in Milan, and the people were encouraged to forget public affairs in a life of indolent pleasure. In Naples, the aged Ferdinand I. owed his restoration to Austria, and was thus compelled, even if he had not wished it himself, to suppress all liberal tendencies. One of his first acts on recovering his independence was to revoke the constitution which he had given to Sicily while he was under the guidance of the English admiral, Lord Bentinck. Any energy that was wanting to the King himself was amply supplied by his wife, Caroline, who constantly urged her husband to fresh precautions against revolution. But the province in which the reaction was most thoroughly carried out was Piedmont. During the French occupation, the King, Victor Emmanuel, had lived quietly in the island of Sardinia, completely untouched by all that was passing on the Continent. He returned to Turin with all the prejudices and prepossessions of a system that was thoroughly out of date. Regardless of the confusion and absurdity that was involved in such an act, he issued an edict which abol-

Florence a refuge for liberalism.

Reaction in Piedmont.

Return of Victor Emmanuel.

ished all laws and regulations introduced by the French, and restored the government as it had existed in 1770. Even the new roads were abandoned, and it was almost decided to destroy the bridge which Napoleon had built across the Po. As compared with the system pursued at Turin, the Austrian government of Milan appeared liberal and far-seeing. But liberal opinions survived in Piedmont and were nourished by the nearness of France. Among their adherents was a member of the royal house, Charles Albert, Prince of Carignano. As both Victor Emmanuel and his brother, Charles Felix, were childless, Charles Albert was the legitimate heir to the throne. But so strong was the reaction, that the idea was entertained of disinheriting him, and securing the succession to the Archduke Francis IV. of Modena, who had married a daughter of Victor Emmanuel, and whose reactionary principles were above suspicion.

Dynastic intrigues.

Although the government of the Italian provinces corresponded so exactly to the wishes of Austria, there was still some ground for uneasiness in the numerous secret societies which covered the whole country. The most important and active of these was the famous Carbonari, which eagerly watched for an opportunity of overthrowing foreign despotism and effecting the simultaneous union and freedom of Italy. The first opening for active

The Carbonari.

measures was given by the effect of the Spanish revolution in Naples, always closely connected with Spain by dynastic ties. Here, as in Spain, the movement originated with the army. The garrison of Nola raised the first cry for the Spanish Constitution, other troops followed the example, and General Pepé, a popular officer, assumed the lead of the rebellion. No semblance of resistance was made by Ferdinand I., who at once undertook to form a liberal ministry and to take the oath to the Constitution, of the provisions of which both he and the rebels were completely ignorant. In four days the revolution was accomplished without disturbance, and the King even went out of his way to express his gratitude to General Pepé and his determination to uphold the new system.

The revolution succeeds.

Very different was the course of events in Sicily, where the people hated the Neapolitans and wished to break off the connection between the two kingdoms. The news reached Palermo on the festival of St. Rosalia (July 14, 1820), the patron saint of the city. A wild tumult followed, in which a number of lives were lost, and the Governor and other officials escaped with difficulty. Envoys were sent to Naples to demand legislative independence and a free constitution. But the Neapolitans were indignant at the excesses that had disgraced the movement in Sicily, and were eager to maintain their hold over the island. An

Events in Sicily.

army was sent under Florestan Pepé, brother of the popular hero, to enforce obedience; and Palermo, after an obstinate resistance, was compelled to yield. Palermo submits.

The rapid spread of revolution in Europe inspired serious misgivings among the great powers, and impelled the Holy Alliance to show its true colors. Austria was especially alarmed by the movement in Naples, which threatened to overthrow its power in Italy; and Metternich convoked a congress at Troppau, in Upper Silesia (October, 1820), at which Austria, Russia, Prussia, France and England were represented. Neapolitan affairs were the chief subject of discussion, and it was soon evident that Austria, Russia, and Prussia were agreed as to the necessity of armed intervention. England made a formal protest against such high-handed treatment of a peaceful country; but as the protest was not supported by France, and England was not prepared to go to war for Naples, it was disregarded. The three allied powers decided to transfer the congress to Laybach and to invite Ferdinand I. to attend in person. The news of this decision made a profound impression in Naples, but the King was allowed to depart after he had made a solemn promise to adhere to the Constitution, and to defend it before the other sovereigns. During his absence the administration was intrusted to his son Francis, who proved to be as profound a Austria reduces Naples and Sicily. Duplicity of Francis.

master of deceit as his father. The question of principle having been settled at Troppau, there was no need for long discussions at Laybach. Ferdinand I. had no idea of observing his promises, and it was decided that an Austrian army should march into Naples to restore his authority. On the 5th of February 6,000 Austrian troops started from Lombardy under General Frimont. The Neapolitans determined to resist; but their leaders were divided, the inhabitants of the country were not devoted to the cause, and all patriotic efforts were impeded by the treacherous intrigues of the regent. Pepé was defeated in an engagement at Rieti and his troops deserted him. Without further opposition the Austrians entered Naples on the 24th of March. A small detachment was sufficient to reduce Sicily. Ferdinand I. took a terrible revenge upon his opponents; and those who were fortunate enough to escape the scaffold had to seek safety in exile.

Ferdinand takes revenge.

It was fortunate for Austria that no effective resistance was made by the Neapolitans, for directly after the departure of the troops from Lombardy a revolution broke out in Piedmont. It was effected by a combination of the liberals, who wished to establish constitutional government, with the officers of the army, who were anxious to free Piedmont from Austrian tutelage. The aged King, Victor Emmanuel, was unable to resist a

Piedmont revolts.

movement that appeared unanimous, and sought to evade the difficulty by abdicating in favor of his brother, Charles Felix (12th of March). As the latter was absent in Modena, the administration was intrusted to Charles Albert of Carignano. His first act was to proclaim the Spanish Constitution, and to appoint a new ministry, in which Santa Rosa, the leader of the military party, had a place. But at the same time he sent to Modena to justify these measures on the plea of necessity, and to profess his obedience to Charles Felix. The new King replied by condemning all that had been done, and expressed his intention of appealing for support to the Holy Alliance. On receipt of this answer, Charles Albert felt that his position was untenable, and fled to Novara, where he formally resigned his authority. At the same time Austrian troops crossed the Ticino and speedily suppressed the revolt. As Victor Emmanuel persisted in abdicating, Charles Felix ascended the throne and restored the old system, but without any of the cruelties that disgraced the reaction in Naples.

Victor Emmanuel abdicates.

Meanwhile the disorders in Spain continued, and a rebellion broke out in Greece against the Turks. In October, 1822, another European congress met at Verona to consider these matters. The French Government, which was now wholly in the hands of the royalists, maintained that any intervention in

Congress of Verona.

Spain must be undertaken by France, just as the intervention in Naples had been intrusted to Austria. A French army had been already drawn up on the frontiers, on the pretext that it was a necessary precaution against the yellow fever, which had broken out with terrible violence in Spain. Austria, Russia, and Prussia were inclined to distrust France, and favored the plan of a combined invasion by the allied forces of Europe. On the other hand, Canning, who had become foreign minister on the death of Castlereagh, sent the Duke of Wellington to Verona with instructions to protest against any armed intervention whatever. Ultimately the four powers determined to demand from the Spanish Government an alteration of the Constitution and greater liberty for the King. It was understood that in case of an unsatisfactory answer being received, France would take active measures with the authority of the other three States. As the Spanish ministers rejected the demand of the powers, all the ambassadors except the English envoy left Madrid, and the French army, 100,000 strong, entered Spain under the Duke of Angoulême (April, 1823). No effective resistance was made, and Madrid was entered on the 23d of May. But the Cortes had carried the King to Seville, and on the approach of the French they retreated to Cadiz. The last resistance was overcome by a bombardment of the city, and on the 1st of

Wellington's instructions

The French enter Madrid.

October Ferdinand VII. was released. His first act was to revoke everything that had been done since the beginning of 1820. The Inquisition was not restored, but the secular tribunals took a terrible vengeance on the revolutionary leaders. The Duke of Angoulême protested against these cruelties, but in vain. Even the fear of revolt, the last check upon despotism, was removed by the presence of the French troops, which remained in Spain till 1827. As a protest against this occupation, which he had been unable to prevent, Canning acknowledged the independence of the Spanish colonies.

French occupation of Spain

Once more events in Portugal followed the example of those in Spain. For some time the reactionary party had been gaining in strength, and the news of French intervention in the neighboring country gave it an easy triumph. The Cortes, deserted both by the people and the army, dissolved itself, and absolute government was restored. John VI., a careless and easy-tempered ruler, wished to issue a general amnesty and to grant a new Constitution. But his wife, a sister of Ferdinand VII., and her second son, Dom Miguel, a monster of bigotry and cruelty, were determined to punish the conquered party. The King found himself a prisoner in his own palace, his favorite minister, Loulé, was murdered, and the Queen aimed at her husband's deposition and the elevation of Miguel to the

Murder of Loulé.

throne. At last John VI. escaped to an English ship in the Tagus (May 9, 1824), and the people rallied to his cause. Miguel obtained his father's forgiveness, but retired to Vienna, whence he returned after John's death to bring further troubles upon his country.

For the time, the Holy Alliance had triumphed, and the revolutionary movement in western Europe seemed to be suppressed. But the resolute attitude which Canning had assumed at the Congress of Verona and in subsequent negotiations had broken up the pentarchy, and deprived the decisions of the other powers of the unity which was necessary for permanence. The death of Alexander I., in 1825, gave a final blow to a league which must either have crushed the growth of liberty in Europe, or have led to another continental war, not less general and destructive than that which had been aroused by the French Revolution.

Canning's opposition succeeds.

[In 1815, the Ionian Islands are formed into an independent Republic under British protection. General Jackson defeats the English at New Orleans. In 1816, La Plata separates from the Argentine Republic. The English Parliament buys the Elgin marbles. Lord Exmouth bombards Algiers, whose Dey is forced to abolish Christian slavery. The East India Company conquers Nepaul. In

Battle of New Orleans.

1819, the interference of soldiers in a reform meeting at Manchester causes the Peterloo massacre. Ali Pacha, of Janina, conquers the last of the Venetian possessions and reaches the height of his power. Spain gives up Florida to the United States. The Republic of Colombia is formed. In 1820, Thistlewood conspires unsuccessfully to kill the British Cabinet. George IV. attempts to divorce his wife Caroline, but abandons the project. Mehemet Ali conquers the Sudan and Kordofan.]

The United States gains Florida.

WAR OF GREEK INDEPENDENCE

(A.D. 1821—1832)

W. ALISON PHILLIPS

THE attitude of European public opinion toward the Greek revolt at the beginning of the century is in strange contrast with the apathy of a generation which, at its close, is weary of the unsolved riddle of the Eastern Question, and jaded with full newspaper reports of countless massacres. The Western world still lay under the glamour of Byron's genius, and even the Levantine Greeks, seen through the rosy mist of romanticism, assumed Homeric proportions. Their meannesses were overlooked, their cruelty condoned or glossed over with a classical allusion. The sympathy of the churches went out to an uprising of persecuted Christians; and, from the political point of view, most important of all, liberal sentiment, gagged and bursting to express itself, welcomed the opportunity given "beyond the pale of civilization" by a people struggling to be free.

Influence of Philhellenic sentiment on the Greek war.

It is as easy to criticise the uncritical attitude

of the Philhellenes as it is to criticise that of the Emperor Francis on the other side when he said that the Greek revolt was "the work of agitators who do not believe in God." The fact remains that modern Greece owes her existence to a sentiment scarce to be understood by a generation which has begun to despise a classical education. Unaided, the Greeks must have succumbed. But soon, from all parts of Europe, money and volunteers were pouring into Greece. Old officers of Napoleon, like Colonel Fabvier, English officers like Colonel Gordon and Sir Richard Church, brought to the insurgents the help of their swords and of their rich experience. Byron himself came, prepared to give his life, as he had given his name, to the cause which he had made his own, and in which, in spite of grievous disillusionment, he nobly persevered to the end. Long before the Cabinets had made up their minds to essay the first tentative pluckings at the strands of the tangled knot, the public opinion of Europe had drawn the sword with which it was destined to be cut; and, long before the battle of Navarino, the complaint of the Reis-Effendi was not ill-founded that Turkey was fighting not Greece, but all Europe.

Foreign aid.

The result was due, in fact, largely to the infatuated policy of the Porte itself. The news of the massacres perpetrated by the Greeks produced at Constantinople, as was

natural, a wild cry for retaliation. Sultan Mahmoud, enlightened though he occasionally proved, was carried away by a paroxysm of rage. Strenuous exertions were made to fit out a force to crush the rising at its centre. Meanwhile, as this would take time, the Sultan determined by a signal example to strike terror into the rebels. According to the law of the Ottoman Empire, the Orthodox Patriarch was responsible for the good behavior of his flock. On the morning of Easter Eve, then, April 22, a decree was issued deposing the Patriarch, and ordering the bishops to proceed at once to the election of a new head of the Church. The Synod, which met immediately after the morning mass, had no choice but to obey; and while the new Patriarch was receiving the investiture of his office, the venerable Gregorios, still in his sacred robes, was led out and hanged before the gates of his own palace. The body, after hanging for a day or two, was cut down, dragged by a Jewish rabble through the streets, and finally cast into the Bosphorus.

Infatuated policy of the Porte.

The Execution of the Greek Patriarch.

The execution of the Patriarch was "worse than a crime; it was a mistake." It was intended and taken as a gage of defiance flung down to all Christendom. So awful a crime as the murder of the Orthodox Patriarch could not, indeed, pass unnoticed by Russia; and the Russian ambassador and his staff were at once withdrawn from Constantinople.

Russia breaks off diplomatic relations.

A year had passed since the death of Gregorios when the long series of horrors culminated in the awful massacre of Chios (April, 1822), by which the whole of the most peaceful and the most prosperous community in the Archipelago was exterminated. The wholesale character of the crime produced a profound effect on European public opinion, now thoroughly aroused; and when, on the night of June 18, Kanaris steered a fire-ship into the midst of the Turkish fleet, and burned the flagship of the Capudan-Pasha with three thousand souls on board, all Christendom hailed the exploit as a glorious victory. Public opinion had, however, at that time, even in England, only an indirect influence on the governments. Foreign policy especially was still the affair of the Cabinets; and the turning-point in the fortunes of the Greeks was, not so much the awakening of the conscience of Europe, as the change produced in English policy by the accession to office of George Canning.

Massacre of Chios.

Metternich, who early in 1825 had made a flying visit to Paris and won over Charles X. to his views, declared through the Austrian plenipotentiary that the Court of Vienna would recognize only one of two alternatives —the complete subjection, or the complete independence of Greece. With the idea of a group of vassal states, he flatly refused to have anything to do; and Russia was equally averse

Attitude of Metternich.

from the setting up of a strong Greek state which might endanger her own influence. The result of the Conference was, then, no more than that, on March 13, it was resolved to offer a joint note to the Porte inviting it to accept the mediation of the Powers in the settlement of the Greek Question. Needless to say, in the absence of any threat of coercion, this proposal was indignantly rejected by the Ottoman Government.

The Sultan calls on Egypt for help.

For a while the silence between the Cabinets of London and St. Petersburg on the Eastern Question remained unbroken, each side awaiting the hour when a suspicious curiosity should lead the other to make the first advances. Canning was the earliest to succumb. The affairs of the East, indeed, had reached a crisis which made it impossible for the Powers any longer to look on with indifference. In the course of 1824, Sultan Mahmoud, realizing the impossibility of putting down the insurrection by his own unaided forces, had bent his pride to ask help of his vassal, Mehemet Ali of Egypt. In December, 1824, Ibrahim, to whom Mehemet Ali had intrusted the supreme command of the expedition, established his base in Crete, within striking distance of the Greek mainland. On February 24, 1825, he landed with an army of four thousand regular infantry and five hundred cavalry at Modon, in the extreme south of the Morea.

From this moment the whole aspect of the war was altered. The Greeks, who could cope well enough with the irregular Ottoman levies, were utterly unable to hold their own against Ibrahim's disciplined fellaheen. Before the year was out, in spite of isolated acts of heroism, the whole of the Peloponnese, save one or two strong places, was at the mercy of the invader, who was credited with the intention of deporting the Greek population and repeopling the country with Mussulman negroes and Arabs. Only the heroic defenders of the mud ramparts of Missolonghi, hard pressed by the Turks under Reshid Pasha, stood between the Greek race and destruction. And Ibrahim, as soon as his work in the Morea was complete, would march northward, and finish with his seasoned troops what Reshid had failed to achieve.

Ibrahim in the Morea, February, 1825.

It was under these circumstances that Stratford Canning, the newly-appointed ambassador at St. Petersburg, was authorized, in 1825, to propose to the Tsar a joint intervention of the Powers, still, however, with the old stipulation that Turkey should not be coerced.

England renews negotiations with Russia.

On July 6, 1827, the Protocol of St. Petersburg was converted into the Treaty of London, Austria and Prussia refusing to sign as a protest against the threat of force. By this instrument the three signatory Powers bound themselves to secure the autonomy of Greece, under the suzerainty of the Sultan, but with-

Treaty of London, July 6, 1827.

out breaking off friendly relations with the Porte.

The Treaty of London had been communicated to the French and English admirals at Smyrna on August 11. They were empowered to part the combatants by peaceful means if possible, by force if necessary. Admiral Codrington at once sailed for Nauplia, where the armistice was gladly accepted by the Greek Government. By the Turks, however, it was scornfully rejected; a naval expedition was fitted out to reduce the island strongholds of Hydra and Spezzia; while, at the same time, an Egyptian armada of ninety-two ships set sail from Alexandria, and before Codrington could intercept it succeeded in joining the Ottoman fleet in the Bay of Navarino (September 7). The fleets of all three Powers were now assembled; and the admirals held a council of war, at which it was decided to present another ultimatum to Ibrahim, demanding fresh securities, the return home of the Egyptian and Ottoman fleets, the cessation of hostilities on land, and the evacuation of the Morea. To this communication an evasive answer was returned; and Codrington, as senior admiral in command, decided to make a demonstration by entering the Bay of Navarino. A battle was not intended; but all precautions were taken in the event of one becoming inevitable. On the morning of October 20, the allied fleets, without interfer-

Greek Government gladly accepts intervention.

Battle of Navarino, October 20, 1827.

ence from the Turkish forts, sailed into the bay and took up positions opposite that of the Mussulmans. The refusal of the Turks to move some fire-ships which threatened the allied line led to an altercation, in which shots were exchanged, and the battle soon became general. Before nightfall Ibrahim's armada was completely destroyed.

Effects of the victory.

The effect of the battle of Navarino was immense. Ibrahim, indeed, in spite of the destruction of his fleet, still defiantly held out. But "for Europe," in the words of Metternich, "the event of October 20 began a new era." Nicholas, who regarded the victory of Navarino as a proof of the unity of the three Powers, proposed to follow up the blow by marching an army into the Danubian Principalities, and suggested that the maritime Powers should force the Dardanelles and compel the Sultan to agree to the terms of the Treaty of London.

Opening of the Russo-Turkish war.

The Russian army crossed the Pruth on May 6, 1828, the first stage in what all Europe believed would be a "military promenade" to Constantinople. But, once more, the "Sick Man" showed unexpected signs of vitality. Once more the incompetence of the Ottoman commanders was outbalanced by the bravery of their troops, and the intention of the Tsar to push the war to a speedy conclusion was far from being realized. It cost the Russians two hardly-fought campaigns before

Russia's hard task.

General Diebitsch was able to dictate terms to the Ottoman Government at Adrianople.

On November 16, 1828, a Protocol of the London Conference placed the Morea, with the neighboring islands and the Cyclades, under the guarantee of the Powers; and this agreement was followed on March 22, 1829, by a further Protocol, which, by extending the frontier to the line of Arta-Volo, included in Hellas a large part of continental Greece—which had meanwhile been cleared of the Turks by the expedition of Sir Richard Church to Acarnania—and also the important island of Eubœa. According to this arrangement, Greece was still to be a tributary state, but autonomous, and governed by a hereditary prince chosen by the Powers.

Greece made an autonomous state.

Even this Protocol, which was very far from satisfying the Greeks, had only been signed by Aberdeen with reluctance, and under conditions which, but for the pressure of events, would have made it abortive. But while the Powers were still hesitating and talking, the war in the Balkan peninsula, so full of surprises, came to a surprising end; and, on September 14, was signed the Peace of Adrianople, which marked another halting-place in the victorious advance of Russia in the East.

This result was itself due rather to the audacious genius of the Russian commander than to the fortunes of the war. Diebitsch, with an army of some thirteen thousand men,

The Peace of Adrianople.

had pressed on over the Balkans, leaving in his rear the unconquered armies of the Grand Vizier and the Pasha of Skutari. His strategy, though rash, was successful. With his rear to the Black Sea, of which Russia held the command, and his communications assured; with the range of the Balkans between himself and the Turks at Shumla, who were powerless to hurt him; and with nothing in front of him save the teeming but unwarlike population of Constantinople, Diebitsch held the Ottoman Power at his mercy. The Porte bowed to the inevitable, and on September 14, 1829, signed with Russia the Treaty of Adrianople. True to his undertaking, the Tsar stipulated for no territorial increase in Europe; but the Danubian principalities were erected into practically independent states, and so, presumably, more open to Russian influences than heretofore. The treaty rights of Russia in the navigation of the Bosphorus and Dardanelles was once more confirmed; and the affairs of Greece were arranged by the inclusion in the treaty of the terms of the Protocol which had been signed at the Conference of London on March 22.

Russia takes no territory.

The news of the Peace of Adrianople, and more especially of the fact that Russia, by including the March Protocol, had stolen the sole credit for the settlement of the Greek claims, produced something like a panic among the Powers. Wellington declared that

Consternation in Europe

the Turkish Power in Europe no longer existed, and that, this being so, it was absurd to talk of bolstering it up. In any case, since the Russian occupation of the principalities made Turkey to all intents and purposes a province of Russia, the integrity of the Ottoman Empire was no longer of supreme importance to England. Wellington, accordingly, was won over to Metternich's view, that Greece must be erected into a State independent of Turkey, and therefore independent of Russia; a State bound, moreover, by ties of gratitude, not to the Tsar, who had obtained for her no more than the terms which she had indignantly rejected, but to those Western Powers, from whom she was now to receive her liberty without conditions. On February 3, 1830, was signed, at London, a new Protocol embodying the views of the British Government. Its terms showed that England had not abandoned all hope that the moribund "sick man" might yet recover, and was reluctant to create a new Power which might imperil a consummation so devoutly to be wished. Greece, indeed, was to be erected into an independent State, under Leopold of Coburg, as "sovereign prince," but the generous frontiers of the March Protocol were again contracted, and, instead of the Greece of Pan-Hellenic dreams, a mere fragment of Hellas was restored to liberty. In recommending this settlement, it was the deliberate

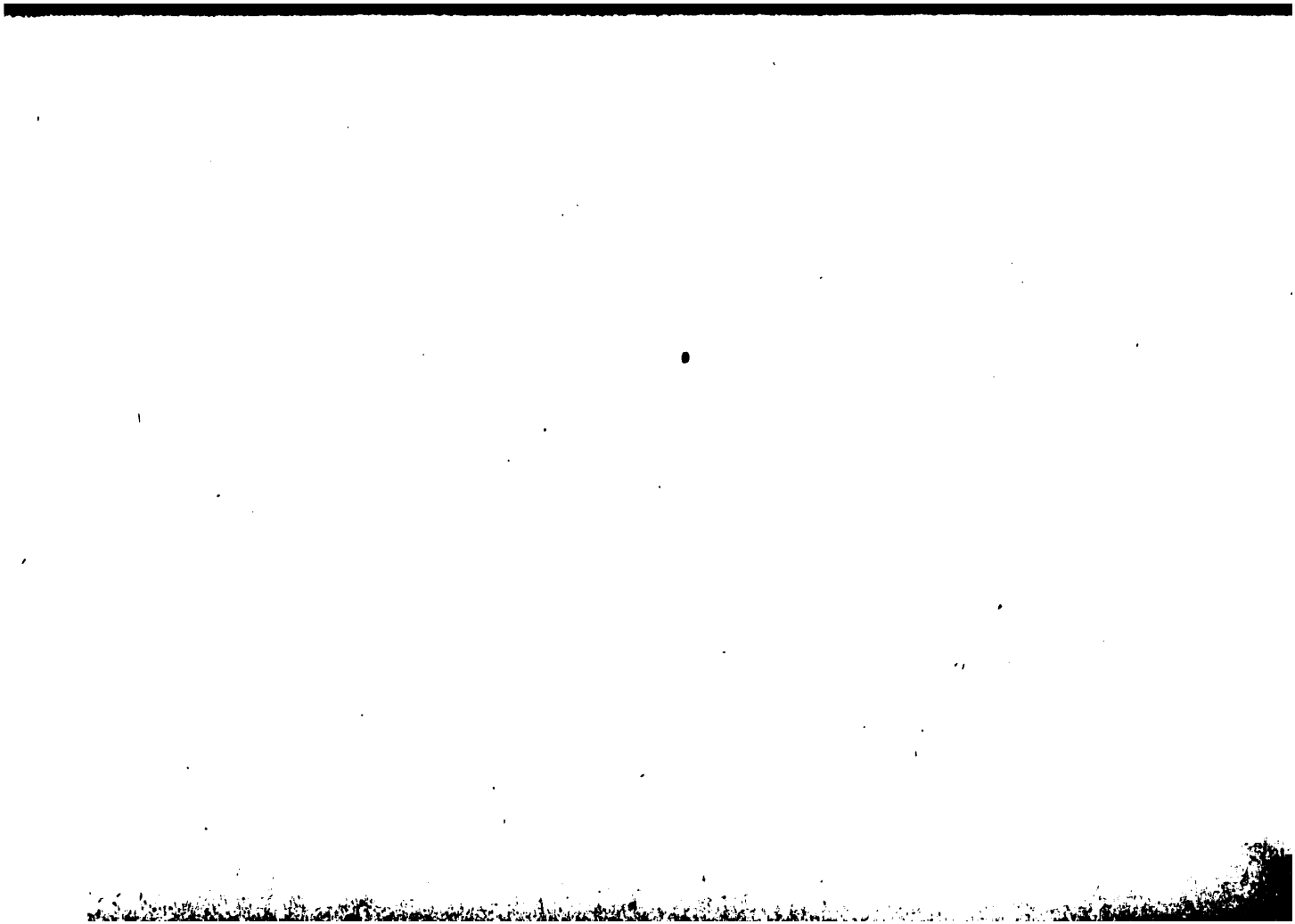
Greece a sovereign state.

intention of the British Government to leave Greece at the mercy of the Porte. Count Capodistrias, however, who since the period of the battle of Navarino had ruled Greece as practical dictator, refused to accept the Protocol of February 3, as he had rejected that of March 22. Prince Leopold, too, resigned his candidature, on the plea that his position would, under the terms of the Protocol, be intolerable. The Powers were compelled to make yet further concessions. Many reasons made a final and satisfactory settlement absolutely imperative. The Revolution in Paris, which hurled Charles X. from his throne, raised questions even more vital than the affairs of the East; and, in the face of these new problems, it was felt that any arrangement of the Greek Question would be better than none. Greece, meanwhile, had lapsed into a more hopeless anarchy than ever. Capodistrias, who at least had ruled with a firm hand, had been assassinated; and the whole country was now being harried and wasted by armed factions struggling for the mastery. It was found practically impossible to curb the anarchy by "instructions" from London; and the erection of a stable government became indispensable. In November, 1830, the Tory ministry of Wellington had been swept away by the rising tide of reform; and it was Palmerston who, in the name of the new Whig Cabinet, signed, on September

The Powers make further concessions.

Assassination of Capodistrias.

The Kingdom of Greece.

26, 1831, a Protocol conceding to the Greek State the frontier of Arta-Volo, for which he had pleaded when in opposition. The crown of Greece was, at the same time, offered to, and accepted by, Otho, second son of King Louis of Bavaria, a youth of seventeen. King Louis stipulated that his son should be King, and not Sovereign Prince, of Greece, and that an adequate loan should be guaranteed by the Powers to enable him to carry on the government. On May 7, 1832, more than a decade after the outbreak of the Greek revolt, the treaty was finally signed which added a new Christian Kingdom to the states' system of Europe. On January 28, 1833, Otho, first King of Greece, landed at Nauplia to attempt, with the aid of Bavarian officials and Bavarian mercenaries, the task of molding a race of Klephts and herdsmen into a civilized people.

END OF VOLUME FOUR